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RAYMOND LULL

THE ILLUMINATED DOCTOR

A STUDY IN MEDIÆVAL MISSIONS

BY

W. T. A. BARBER, B.D.

HEADMASTER OF THE LEYS SCHOOL

He who loves not, lives not.

He who lives by the Life cannot die.

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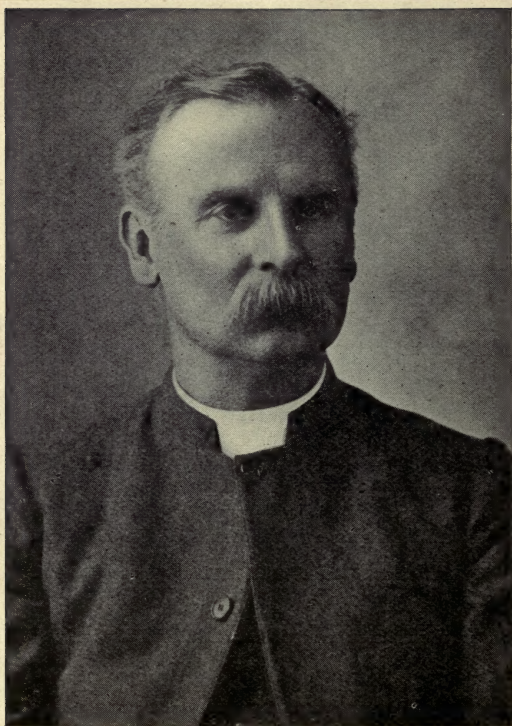
UXORI CARISSIMAE



RAYMOND LULL

BORN AT PALMA, A.D. 1236

DIED AT BUGIA, A.D. 1315



THE REV. W. T. A. BARBER, D.D.

Photo: Kidd & Baker.

PREFACE

THE Church lives for its missionary activity. Amidst that wonderful Thirteenth Century which quivered with the spiritual impact of great forces and great lives, no figure is more picturesque, more stimulating to the missionary imagination, than Raymond Lull, the ardent missionary to the Moslems. Especially attractive to a missionary student is that combination of glowing devotion with intellectual power which made Lull not only Blessed and Martyr of the Church, but also Doctor of the Schools. Raymond Lull joins with Roger Bacon in his plea for the necessity of a complete scientific education for missionaries. Our own age realises not only the mighty claim which Christ has on us for the gosselling of the world, but the mighty difficulty of the task of inducing to a change of faith a man of alien race and creed. Never before was the missionary devotion of the Church

greater than it is to-day; never before did it employ more thoroughly its sanctified common sense in the preparation of its emissaries. Lull, six centuries ago, stood where we do now in this joyous offering of Knowledge at the feet of Love, of Science at the foot of the Cross.

I have to acknowledge with gratitude the help of my friend the Rev. H. B. Workman, Principal of Westminster Training College, in many hints, which his wide and accurate knowledge made most valuable. I have also been assisted in several points of geographical identification by the kindness of my friend the Rev. Franklyn G. Smith of Barcelona.

CAMBRIDGE,
September 1903.

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RAYMOND LULL.



CHAPTER I.

THE MAKING OF THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY.

THE early years of the thirteenth century found all Christendom seething with great thoughts, which were soon to be embodied in great lives. Dominic and Francis of Assisi expressed in their vows of utter poverty the entire dissatisfaction of the age with the religion presented before it. For a century the blood and treasure of the West had been freely expended in the Crusades. Wave after wave of fierce religious enthusiasm had been hurled against the battlements of the Paynim in the Holy Land, only to recoil in broken spray. Religion had consecrated lust and rapine; it was from the armour of the warrior and from

the glinting spear that the sunshine of heaven had been reflected. Notwithstanding much evidence of chivalry in the Saracen foe, a century's warfare had deepened hate and contempt. It was a Christian thing to hate; the love of the Cross meant the scorn of the Crescent. The virtues of the follower of Mahomet were looked at through the distorting medium of fear, born of many a conflict in which the Christian had felt the bravery of his foe. Like a cloud the Paynim hung over the shores and islands of the Mediterranean, and dread possibilities of the future, woven out of dread memories of the past, made it a virtue to hold no truce with the votaries of the accursed creed. Even the memory of the gentle rule and broad-minded tolerance of the Sultans of Cordova had been overcast by subsequent fanaticism of both sides, and friendly relations had become impossible in the only land where Christian and Mussulman lived side by side. The varying fortunes of war through the Spanish Peninsula during the twelfth century embittered the relations of the rival creeds. The triumph of the Christians of the North over the divided city-kingdoms of the Moors was checked by the Puritan enthusiasm of the Almohades; and the last, though quickly-fading, glory of the

Moslem Caliphate fanned Christian hatred into new intensity. The growth of theological and miraculous dogma made Christianity increasingly offensive to the Mahometan. The mental atmosphere of the Church was perpetually quivering with thoughts of the mystic wonder of the Real Presence in the Eucharist. Three centuries earlier Radbertus had ventured to express in words the stupendous miracle that at the utterance of the officiating priest the bread and wine, preserving still their accidents, yet became in very deed the Body and Blood of Christ. The devout mind, dwelling on possibilities and hopes, had grown indurated to this new burden on faith, and Lanfranc's voice had in the eleventh century proclaimed to all Christendom the new wonder of God present in the sacred elements. Ere the thirteenth century had counted many years, Innocent III. and the Lateran Council revealed the accumulated result of the hidden forces of the past by promulgating in definite form the dogma of transubstantiation. The devout Christian went forth to life with a new enthusiasm for his faith, a new declaration of its miraculous power, and a new impatience of the unbeliever for resenting as materialism what was to himself the shadow of the spiritual. To the Christian in his worship of the Host

there came the blessed sense of that Cloud of Glory that filled the House of God ; while the Moslem looked on and saw but jugglery and the superstition of prone fanaticism. Hence the multitudes of the rival creeds and civilisations had less and less of tolerance for each other : more and more it was a war to extermination. To the majority of the rulers in Church and State the only missionary activity possible was that which destroyed so many of the unbelievers that the rest would fear and submit. Meanwhile the tendencies which had so lost the spiritual as to drive Christendom into these external Crusades and politico-religious warfarings naturally tended also to materialise spiritual conceptions, and had a reflex evil influence on the forces most prominent in the Church's life. It is true that the discussions of scholasticism were giving an arena for the exercise of the intellect of Europe ; but in the domain of the ecclesiastical statesman and administrator the world was called to behold all that was unlovely and self-seeking. The Clergy, from the Pope downwards, were alienating men's hearts by their worldliness. Ecclesiastics formed round themselves splendid retinues and miniature courts, while the flock of Christ remained unfed. "The whole world is polluted

with this evil. There is no city or village where the Church does not push¹ her benefices and collect her revenues. Everywhere she will have prebends, endless incomes. O God! how long dost Thou delay to avenge the blood of the innocent, which cries to Thee from beneath the Altar of the Capitol." So cried, concerning this period, the writer who shelters himself under the name of Joachim di Flor.¹ The sense of the practical failure of Christianity lay heavy on the hearts of men. The Joachim di Flor just quoted, who died on the threshold of the new century, in his *Exposition of the Apocalypse* developed a theory of allegory and prophecy whose whole stimulus was this sense of failure. The history of the world was to be divided into Three Ages. The first was the Dispensation of the Father, the record of which fills the pages of the Old Testament; next came the Dispensation of the Son, starting from the Incarnation and intended (according to the great prophetic number) to last for 1260 years. After this was to follow the Great Tribulation, with sore purgation of wheat from chaff. Then

¹ *Commentary on Jeremiah*. Rénan (*Leaders of Christian Thought*) proves that Joachim was not the real author. For our purpose in quotation this is immaterial. The whole strange literature of *The Eternal Gospel* illustrates the point.

was to commence the glorious reign of the Spirit ; the outward observances of religion were to pass away, the priesthood was to be unnecessary, and the contemplative monastic life the highest and permanent form of righteousness. Joachim's writings had an immense vogue, and vastly influenced current thought. Eventually, indeed, he became a mystic figure through whose lips it was deemed that prophecy flowed direct from the Divine Source ; one, therefore, to whose name it was convenient to attribute all manner of spurious foretellings. All that we have to point out at this stage is that the existent Christianity was felt to be without success, that those whose faith forbade them to dream of its final failure were driven to expect a new dispensation, and that the outlines of their vision were the unworldly, the contemplative, the monastic.

But beneath this surface, whereon were to be seen only luxury and warlike hate, there beat the real heart of a world in which the spirit of Christ could not be stifled. The rise of the great mendicant orders marked the reaction. The activities of the lives of Dominic of Castile and Francis of Assisi brightened the early years of the thirteenth century. Vain was it for the Lateran Council to forbid the formation of new

orders. When Francis appeared before Pope Innocent III. with his plea for the institution of the Brothers Minor, he was waved aside as beggar or lunatic. It was the irritation of a wealthy and self-satisfied Church Universal which showed itself in that wave of the papal hand. But the same night, if Franciscan partiality can be trusted, the Pope had a vision which led him to send again for the stranger and to accept his scheme. It was the truer spiritual insight of a great leader of men and enthusiast for the Church which recognised the necessity of a new dynamic. Thus the world beheld, by the side of the pomp and wealth of the great ecclesiastic, the absolute poverty of the friar; beside the pride of place, the renunciation of all things; beside the hatred of the heretic, the childlike love of all things and men; beside the worn-out indifference of those in whom Christianity had failed, the enthusiastic vision of the Cross and the Stigmata of Christ.

Poverty, chastity, obedience—these were the answers of a weary world to the wrongs of the Church. The immense and rapid spread of the Franciscan movement bore witness to the depth of the need it supplied. In St. Francis there bloomed the flower which was the expression of the seed-thoughts of his generation. Before

him, the yearning for a simpler life entirely devoted to the ideals of Christianity had led to the formation of many Brotherhoods and Sisterhoods of Penitence. Most remarkable among these were the Humiliati, who tried to live the life of the Sermon of the Mount without withdrawing from the world. It seems clear now that the original form of the Franciscan movement was that which remains as its Third Order. While the world's business hummed along the marts and seas, men and women crowded into an association which crystallised into realisation the command of Him who bade His followers be "in the world, but not of the world." It was a later stage which developed the order of the Brothers Minor and the Women's movement under Sister Clare, in which those who were free from ordinary duties gave themselves up to monastic life and rule. Still later was it that the regulating hand of the Church imposed the clear-cut and unyielding boundaries of a rule and order of the Tertiaries.¹ But the movement of St. Francis which finally absorbed all these earlier experiments was the expression

¹ On this new view of the order of development of the Franciscan Movement, see *Third Orders*, Adderley and Marson, London 1902 ; and an article, "The Third Order of St. Francis," in the *Church Quarterly*, April 1903.

of the world's longing for the salvation to be found in simply following Christ.

Moreover, the desire for personal salvation bore its universal fruit—desire for the salvation of the world. It is a hollow criticism which sees in the first services of St. Francis towards the poor and the leper simply the desire for merit in the eyes of God. Again and again has experience proved that the Vision of the Cross, the love of the Crucified, begets the spirit of the Crucified, the Universal Love. Few there were in that age with spiritual imagination broad enough to grasp the truth that physical force could be no remedy for the heretic and the infidel. But St. Francis himself went—or was supposed to go, as the natural outcome of his love—to the Soldan and attempted to win the Moslems to Christ. In contrast to the impatience and indignation at the unbeliever which saw no remedy but the crusade of armed force, there grew up once more the old loving idea of the simple witnesses sent forth from the Mount in Galilee, the patient importunity of Paul, beaten, shipwrecked, robbed, sick unto death, counting not life dear if but souls were won. It is true that the contest between the old ideas and the new continued even within the charmed circle of the Franciscan Order

itself. Before the loving soul of St. Francis went home to the great Heart of Love, there were signs of a recoil from the extreme of poverty. When Brother Elias grasped the rule that had fallen from the Leader's hand, the lust of power and wealth was already in the hearts of some who followed. Many maintained that an order, even though under the vow of poverty, might collectively possess property; while others resolutely appealed to the testament of their Founder. Only a few years after A.D. 1226, when Francis died, the Franciscans were sharply divided, and the Spirituals sturdily refused, in the face of persecution even, papal edicts which allowed the milder rule.

When the first third of the thirteenth century had elapsed, the great first impulse of Dominic and Francis had been given: the Church, with characteristic shrewdness, had united the new activities with its own slower and broader movements. The two currents flowed within the same banks united in one stream—the gentler and the more impetuous, the worldly and the ascetic. The Sixth Crusade was still dragging on its perpetual warfare against the Infidels through all the Mediterranean coasts, while at the same time individual Franciscan and Dominican missionaries were shaking the crucifix in the

Moslem's face with a view to his conversion. The new ideals were still vocal; the air was full of the preaching of mendicant friars, and the world believed in their obvious sincerity. But there was a perceptible cooling in the warmth of hope that the new orders would bring in the new realm of the Spirit.

CHAPTER II.

THE ORIGINS OF SPAIN.

IT is the story of a Spaniard with which we have to do; and in order that we may understand his character and life, we must set clear before us the elements which went to make the national life of which he was a part. Century after century across the Spanish Peninsula there had surged an endless succession of invaders and immigrants. Romans, Vandals, Goths, and Moors; Arians, Catholics, Jews, and Moslems—all these contributed their elements of physical and religious life to make the Spaniard of to-day. During the fifth and sixth centuries the great contest between Arian and Catholic had in Spain its greatest vigour, and there the Arian made his last stand. Still later the contest between Roman and Goth continued. Fusion was long resisted by laws forbidding intermarriage; but the triumph of Catholicism broke down old barriers, and the Goth, become orthodox, was welded into one

people with his Roman neighbour. Orthodoxy led him too to alter his old latitudinarian attitude towards the numerous Jews in his midst, until in the middle of the seventh century it was enacted that no non-Catholic should live in Spain.

Then came the familiar story of the decline of a brave people, enervated by luxury and power. The rich were sensual, the clergy unrighteous, and the lower class enslaved. Internecine feuds weakened the Visigothic dynasty. Finally, Count Julian of Ceuta made the plea, real or feigned, that his daughter Florinda, a ward in the court of the Gothic King Roderic, had been dishonoured by her guardian. He therefore invited the hardy Berber warriors to cross the sea from North Africa. Ere long the vast army of Roderic was utterly routed in the battle of Guadalete, and the following year (A.D. 712) saw the Moor firmly established in Spain. It seemed possible that still more of Europe might fall beneath the Moslem sway, but Charles Martel stemmed the tide and set the Pyrenees as the northern boundary. This limit was fully reached and maintained; for when his son Charlemagne sought to invade Spain, the disaster of Roncevalles, famous for the death of Roland, settled that the power of the Franks should make no further incursion

on the Mahometans. The northern portion of the peninsula, mountainous and barren, remained the last refuge of the defeated Christians, and the next five centuries tell the varying tale of the balance of power. Galicia, Leon, Castile, and the Biscayan provinces contained but a small and insignificant remnant; while the Moorish invaders had secured the whole of Andalusia, the sunny and fruitful south and east. When tribal jealousies weakened the Berbers, Syrian Arabs came to the rescue; for 250 years the splendour of the Omeyyad Kings made Cordova, their capital, the home of culture, art, and literature. Architecture beautiful as a dream; weaving, pottery, carving, jewelling, sword-casting—every craft attained its perfection. Poets, philosophers, surgeons, and leeches found generous support at the Sultan's court. Under splendid encouragement great discoveries in medicine and botany were made; surgery anticipated some of the daring deeds of to-day; Averroes reintroduced Aristotle to the admiring West; the air of life was made musical with the lilt of poetry. The sternness of Moslem fanaticism was lulled to rest under the splash of the fountains of the sunny Cordova; and its libraries were filled with precious manuscripts by the writers of the whole earth.

A corresponding mitigation took place in the original fierce propagandism of Islam. No longer was there the rigorous alternative of the Sword or submission to the Prophet. Jews and Christians were taxed, but were protected from missionary attack, and proselytism was discouraged. At this stage Mahometanism compares very favourably with the ignorant form of Christianity in vogue in Spain. But this golden age of toleration was too good to last. Fanatic Christians were not content with being allowed freedom of faith. Many courted martyrdom by public insult to Mahomet; and, though the madness soon died away, the old mutual tolerance was dead.

The great Omeyyad dynasty tottered from decay to fall with the end of the tenth century, and the watchful Christian princes of the north overran the Moorish domains, so that it seemed likely that ere long all Spain would be free from the long foreign dominance. But the Almoravides, a Puritan sect of Berbers, were called in from Africa, and crushed the forces of Alfonso of Castile at Zallaka in 1086. By the end of the century the whole of Mahometan Spain was once more united under these fanatics: Jews and Christians were mercilessly persecuted, and the whole land groaned. But Puritanism speedily fell under the corrupting influence of prosperity,

the Almoravides were expelled, their kingdom was split up into cities; the Christian armies of the north plundered and harried almost as far south as the Mediterranean shores. For a time a new check to their inroads was imposed by the invasion by the Almohades, a still newer sect of fanatics, who poured in from the teeming shores of Africa. In the great battle of Las Navas, however, in 1212, the Christians slew vast numbers of the invaders, and gradually swept over the whole of their dominions, leaving the one kingdom of Granada for a couple of centuries more to show the last flickering gleams of the old Moorish glory. Meanwhile the Balearic Isles had shared more or less in the fortunes of the mainland. Romans, Vandals, and Goths successively had effected settlements; and after the Moorish invaders triumphed in A.D. 745, the same conflicting elements of religion and race made permanent unrest. Outside, Christendom thought of the subject Catholics of Majorca with sympathy and shame. During the turmoil that followed the expulsion of the Almohades, each Moorish chieftain on the mainland endeavoured to carve out for himself a kingdom. Undeterred by the lessons of all history, the Moorish King of Valencia invited the help of James I. of Aragon (born in 1208) against the

foes of his own race and creed. The opportunity was eagerly seized ; religion added its sanction to political ambition, and in 1229 a large fleet sailed from Barcelona against Majorca. On the last day of the year the victory was complete, and the island, after five centuries of Mahometanism, became once more subject to a Christian king. Minorca and Iviza were conquered during the next few years. Numerous Moslems remained in the islands, specially in the less accessible parts ; but ardent missionary Catholicism came in with the Conquest, and immediately founded its Franciscan Church in Palma, the capital. After a few years spent in assuring the permanence of the conquest, the king returned to Aragon, leaving many of his Catalan nobles as permanent settlers.

THE main materials for Lull's Life are to be found in the record in the *Acta Sanctorum* (June 30). This record is composed of various layers of different authority. One account is given by an anonymous contemporary of Lull's, and we naturally attach the greatest weight to its statements. This Life proceeds no further than the Council of Vienne, 1311. The other authorities used by the compiler of the *Acta Sanctorum* are the Lives by Bovillus and Nicholas Pax. See the list of authorities (page ix).

CHAPTER III.

RAYMOND LULL. THE ILLUMINATION OF A WORLDLING.

WHEN James I. of Aragon undertook the conquest of Majorca for the glory of God and the enlargement of his own kingdom, one of his most distinguished nobles was Raymond Lull or Lull, a scion of a distinguished Frankish stock, who had married a daughter of the noble family of Herilies. Lull was rewarded for his services by gifts of the conquered lands; and we find him enrolled lord of certain territories in the neighbourhood of Palma, the capital, famous among them being Mt. Randa and Miramar. After the establishment of peace he brought his wife from Barcelona and settled permanently in his new home. To this couple was born in their town house in the parish of St. Michael, Palma, on January 25, 1236,¹ the

¹ Wadding quotes the statement of Bovillus that Raymond Lull's conversion was in 1275, and in his fortieth year. Other

son who has made the name famous. The parents desired that the boy should be educated in arts and letters; but he himself, early showing signs of that strength of will which characterised him in later years, decided that he preferred to be free from the education of the schools. It was obvious that he possessed talent, and his parents secured for him a training along with the princes of the royal house. Majorca had its own court, and in 1262 it was formally parted from Aragon, and assigned to James II. as a separate kingdom during his father's lifetime. Young Raymond, now of man's estate, was made Seneschal and Master of the Royal Household. He was happily married, and blessed with two sons, Raymond and William, and with one daughter, Madeline. His character was that of a thorough man of the world, finding his pleasure in the perpetual round of public gaieties, and specially notorious for gallantry towards the ladies of the court. His legitimate marriage did not prevent his pursuing even the wives of the gentlemen with whom he came in contact.

authorities assign the conversion to 1266. In the Second Book of the *Contemplatio Dei* Lull states that he was then thirty years old. The date in the text appears the best authenticated. Perroquet assigns the birth to 1240 or 1242, but gives as alternatives 1235, 1236, 1239.

Thus, up to the age of thirty, Raymond Lull lived the ordinary life of the mere pleasure-loving prosperous noble and courtier, with no thought of religion. St. Francis before him and Ignatius Loyola after him spent their early years in similar carelessness. When he was thirty years old a complete change came over him.

It is stated¹ that he had conceived a violent passion for a noble lady, Signora Ambrosia di Castello of Genoa,² and addressed amorous sonnets to her. On one occasion he sent to her a poem on the subject of her bosom. The chaste lady, after consulting her husband, replied with a courteous letter, in which she implored him not to degrade to the adoration of a mere creature the soul that was meant for God alone. Should he continue his evil passion, the bosom that had wounded him should be his healing. Lull paid no attention to this gentle dismissal, nor to the cryptic utterance with which it closed; and when one day, crossing the great square in Palma, he beheld her enter-

¹ This story is recorded in the Life of Bovillus as told to the writer by the man who made the narrative. It is also mentioned by Pax, and is accepted by Wadding, but is not found in the life by the unknown contemporary.

² The name is found in Perroquet.

ing a church for prayer, he urged his horse up the steps, and rode right into the sacred building after her. Seeing that so desperate a passion needed a desperate cure, the lady sent for Raymond, and disclosed to him, not the object of his unholy desires, but instead a foul cancer which was consuming her breast. Thus startlingly was brought home to him the folly of the carnal. "The longing you have shown to me with such folly," said his deliverer, "now turn towards Christ. You may from Him gain a heavenly kingdom." Whereupon he went home, and lay lamenting on his bed. Others omit this story, and describe Raymond as sitting in his chamber writing an unholy love-letter, when suddenly he beheld on his right hand the Lord Jesus as if upon the Cross. Startled and terror-stricken, he desisted. Eight days later he set to finish his letter at the same hour and place, when the same vision flashed upon him. Four or five times a similar apparition came, till he was thoroughly roused, and spent the night thinking what this should mean for him. "Oh, Raymond Lull, follow Me henceforth," the figure on the Cross had said, and in the convicted soul conscience did her work. Lull, the impure and selfish, saw the truth. Long he pondered how he could find strength to turn from his sensual

life to the holiness demanded from him, till the teaching of his childhood came home to him with new meaning: "Christ is all-patient and pitiful; He invites all sinners to Himself; therefore He will not reject me, sinner though I be." Henceforth he would forsake the world and follow Christ entirely. Such sudden and complete recognition of the claims of Christ, repeated again and again in the Middle Ages, is trustworthy evidence of the depth of spiritual knowledge possessed by the Church even in her less glorious days. The worldling who came under religious influence knew where to turn, understood where to find the fountain of spiritual life. Meditating how he might best fulfil this great resolve, Lull naturally expressed his sacred ambitions in accord with the thoughts of his own generation. He felt that he would best serve Christ by suffering martyrdom for Him, and meanwhile by converting to Christianity the Saracens around. Now followed the mental awakening which is the constant companion of spiritual conversion. How could he succeed in this great enterprise when he was ignorant, and knew no grammar even? Thus, as he groaned over his incapacity, a great resolution seized him that he would write a better book than any yet made, which should irrefutably con-

vince the unbelievers. But alas! the very tongue of the Moslem was unknown to him. Once more the strong will and sense saw the way clear. He would go to the Holy Father, to Christian kings and princes, and would induce them to endow monasteries; there religious persons of suitable powers should be placed to learn the languages of the Saracens and other unbelievers, fitting themselves to become missionaries to them. Next morning he went to the church hard by and registered his vows before God with many tears. Three months elapsed, with nothing more to show than the formation of good intentions. It was October 4, the day of the Feast of St. Francis, when Lull entered the Church of the *Fratres Minores*. A bishop was preaching the sermon, and dilated upon the completeness of the sacrifice made by the Saint. Conscience woke once more, and his hearer instantly made up his mind to follow where the Saint had trod. He went forth, sold all that he had, reserving only a small portion for the needs of his wife and children, gave the rest to the poor,¹ and went away, intending

¹ We must conclude from the narrative that Lull retained a certain amount of his land, sufficient to secure a place of residence and retirement for himself. This is characteristic of the strong common sense which rules even in his hours of ecstasy.

never to return to his own. Straightway he visited the shrines of various famous saints,—notably St. Mary of Roquemadour¹ and St. James of Compostella,—to seek their guidance as to how to secure the three great aims to which he had set his life—the writing of the convincing book, the founding of colleges for missionary languages, and his own martyrdom. Raymond Lull had made the Great Renunciation.

It is difficult to pronounce on the historic value of the story of the lady and her share in Lull's conversion. Considering the fact that it finds no place in the account given by the unknown contemporary, and that the story there given is complete in itself, the balance of probability seems to be that this is a later accretion, perhaps allegorising, after the manner of the times, the realisation of the relative value of the spiritual and the carnal. Suffice it, at any rate, to recognise here the sudden arrest of a soul by the Spirit of God. It is characteristic of the man that the conversion is complete, and that he at once thinks out the scheme of life by which he will carry out his new service. It is characteristic of the age that he leaves wife and child, that all earthly ties are held dissolved,

¹ Sta. Maria de Rupe Amatore. Town in Gascony.

that the unfaith of the Moslems is to be the great arena of spiritual conflict, that martyrdom is the ultimate aim.

Full of his eager design for his great book, Lull proposed to go to the University of Paris to study grammar and dialectic science. When we read of his complete lack of education up to this point, it must not be forgotten that though he had little of the rigorous training of the schools, he has already been described as skilled in making poetry, and that considerable mental vigour and self-resource is implied in the scheme so speedily conceived of apologetic literature as the great instrument of missionary activity. But Lull evidently did not hide from himself the greatness of the task he had set before him ; and it is eloquent of the character of the man who aims at ultimate martyrdom that his first step, in full manhood, is to propose to sit upon the learner's bench, and face years of mental training before he begins his missionary work.

When his friends heard of his purpose, they dissuaded him, inducing him instead to go to Palma, his own city, and there to set himself to learn. Foremost among these was the famous Dominican, Raymond of Peñaforte, who at the command of Gregory IX. had codified the Canon Law. Accordingly, Lull returned, laying aside

all fair clothing and donning the coarsest attire that he could find.

It was a strong man who at thirty years of age gave up his position as Palace Seneschal, and deliberately settled down to nine or ten years of study that he might fit himself to be a missionary. Lull retired to Mount Randa,¹ one of his country estates, over which apparently he still retained some rights, and there a certain spot not far from his house became famous as his place of meditation.

We have no difficulty in believing the record of illnesses, in which he could take no rest or nourishment; nor in accepting the story of wondrous trances which came to him, with visions of the Cross. The simple faith and whole-souled consecration of the age expressed itself in a permanent rapture of realisation of the spiritual. The same intensity of faith which took St. Paul into the heaven of heavens, whether in the body or out of the body he could not tell, and gave him to hear things incapable of being uttered, gripped the souls of the missionary saints of the

¹ Zwemer (*Raymond Lull*) criticises the spelling of this name and substitutes *Roda*. He gives no authority. Randa is the name by which the hill is still known. It is visible from Palma, and from the saddle-shaped form of the summit is known as "the twin-peaks of Randa."

Middle Ages. We find it possible to believe that the intense concentration of soul of St. Francis on the spiritual love of Christ produced the neurotic condition wherein the inner sympathy was expressed in the outer Stigmata; and there is little hesitation in accepting that in Lull's case the long buffeting of the flesh broke down somewhat the mysterious barrier which ordinarily walls off the unseen and the spiritual. But the age was not a critical one, and the Franciscans, who claimed Lull as one of themselves, were ready to build on slender foundations great structures of wonder and pious delight.

Meanwhile Lull kept ever before him the practical object of learning the tongue of the Saracens. To this end he bought a Saracen slave, and by his conversation obtained a good knowledge of Arabic. The story of this slave gives us a good idea of Lull's character. Nine years after he had commenced this manner of life, the slave appears to have realised that his master's aim in thus learning the language of the Koran was to destroy the faith of Mahomet; and he accordingly decided to kill him before he could put his plan into execution.¹ The slave, in Lull's absence, began to blaspheme Christ; the master, on his return, smote his

¹ So Bovillus.

slave for the blasphemy, whereupon the latter decided to take an early opportunity to murder him.¹ Seeing him alone in his chamber, he rushed in with a drawn sword. "Thou art a dead man," he cried, and struck at him, inflicting a sore wound. Lull closed with him and wrenched the sword away, mastering the Saracen till others rushed in and bound him securely, sparing his life by the master's express orders.

Lull was now sorely perplexed as to what to do. His Christianity forbade his slaying him; to sell him into other slavery seemed to him too severe, to keep him was impossible, to dismiss him dangerous. For three days he prayed continuously for leading, but could obtain no answer. Sore sorrowful that God would vouchsafe no guidance, he returned to his home, and discovered that the unbeliever, in chagrin and despair, had hanged himself in his confinement. Whereupon he "understood that God had been guiding him all the time."

The puzzles of Providence and human action are very much the same in the thirteenth century and the twentieth.

Thus doing his best from the human standpoint, Lull awaited the Divine help, steadily aiming at the first of his three great objects—

¹ So the unknown contemporary.

the Book which was to convert the unbeliever. The years of working and praying bore their fruit. Lull himself believed that he was the object of a direct Divine inspiration.¹ Apparently it was not long after the death of his slave that he spent eight days in profound meditation and devotion in his favourite haunt of quiet. Suddenly, he tells us, there came a complete illumination from God, "giving him the form and method of making the Book. He wondered to find himself, before an ignorant man, now in a moment suddenly to be supernaturally imbued with the principles of all sciences, human and divine, and to have learnt the whole truth at the same time from the Holy Spirit. Thanking God, he rose from prayer, vowed that he would not hide this light under a bushel, but would set it on a candlestick." He went down immediately to a quiet retreat,² and at once commenced the *Ars Magna*, the first of his many books applying the scholastic logic to the proof of Christian

¹ The unknown contemporary places the incident of the Saracen slave and the learning of Arabic *before* the illumination; Bovillus reverses the order.

² The original document speaks of a "royal abbey." There is now no abbey in the neighbourhood of Randa; but there are several old chapels or sanctuaries, including that on Randa itself, the scene of the illumination.

truth. Then he ascended the mountain once more, and made a hermitage on the very spot where the revelation had been given. The piety of eager historians has festooned Mount Randa with garlands of miracle. Once there came to his cell a shepherd youth, joyous and comely of face, who told him as much in one hour concerning God and angels and heavenly things as anyone else could have done in two days. Seeing the books just written, he kissed them on bended knees, declared what good they would do, blessed Raymond, with many prophecies, and marked him with the sign of the Cross. Then he departed, and Raymond never heard of him again. Visions were vouchsafed to him of angels, the Virgin with her Babe, and of the Christ "showing him His Blood to enhearten him in his contest for the faith." Enthusiastic Lullists in after years were continually painting their doctor gazing at the Crucifix and breaking forth "O Bonitas." Once he spent the whole night under a lentiscus tree, absorbed in meditation on things divine; and in the morning, "Lo! he beheld the leaves all graven with the alphabetic characters of various languages,—Latin, Greek, Arabic, Chaldean, etc.,—as evidence that this Art should be of use to as many nations as languages were

there recorded." "This tree," records the pious Perroquet, "is to-day (A.D. 1667) still existent, miraculous and flourishing."

Translating these stories into the historic statements natural to our own time, we may accept the sudden illumination which made so great an impression of the Divine on Lull and his followers. Whether it be Gautama under the Bo Tree or Lull under the lentiscus, we recognise that mental and spiritual power which crystallises by sudden shock the perfect shape evolved by the previous unseen forces of meditation. One moment the structureless fluid, the next the crystalline form of many a facet and angle, flashing sudden lights from geometric symmetry; yet it is the hidden forces of the past that have wrought it. God is in it, even though we speak not of miracle. Thus, too, the strength and confidence which Raymond Lull gained from his belief that God had directly illuminated him for his life-purpose was based on solid fact. God was in it. Lull was called as truly as Abraham or Paul.

CHAPTER IV.

MAKER OF BOOKS.

LULL'S enthusiastic mind now rejoiced in the possession of a sure and certain method of converting the infidels. It is pathetic to think of the missionary, so sure of his own creed, and so convinced of its reasonableness, that he is convinced also that the infidel has only to be put through the processes of logic to be driven to faith in Christ. But we must set ourselves in his age and mental place to realise the great advance upon the ideas then prevalent as to the proper methods of conversion. In an age when our English kings were expelling the Jews from their domains and emptying their coffers, while St. Louis was killing Saracens in order to gain the Holy Land, while persecution seemed to Spanish rulers the natural way of treating recalcitrant Moslems, Lull was dreaming of peaceful discussions and triumphant proof

of the superiority of Christianity. Hitherto, even when the splendid simplicity of apostolic missions was reverted to, it was the zeal of ignorance which sought to force dogma on belief. More than that, there was a strong tendency to glory in the tenets of Christianity as undemonstrated and undemonstrable truths. Then, as now, "Only believe" was often the one orthodox cry of the missionary—too often with the alternative of hell-fire as the reward of refusal. It is a magnificent development which asserts that the great strength of Christianity is that it can *prove* the truth of its beliefs. Lull's perception of the moral value of faith is perfectly clear and satisfactory. "The proof of the articles of the faith is impossible without the help of the same faith. That is to say, that in order to find clear reasons for the mysteries, and in order to be raised to this degree of intelligence, it is necessary to believe them beforehand, and to suppose that they are true, or that they may be so." Constantly he reiterates the words of Isaiah, "Nisi credideritis non intelligetis." But he is emphatic in linking faith with reason. He reminds his readers that God commands us to love Him *with all our mind*, that St. Peter bids us give a reason for the faith that is in us to all that ask. Faith *stands*

in lofty things, and chooses never to descend to rational grounds; while reason *soars upward* to lofty things, which she then brings down to understanding and knowledge. When faith stands in lofty things and reason soars up to her, then both are in harmony, because faith gives elevation to reason, and reason is energised and ennobled by the lofty aspiring of faith so as to attempt to master by knowledge what faith has already reached by believing.¹ In fact Lull takes the position, so accordant with that of religious minds of our own time, that faith is the highest kind of reason, and that religion dwells in the realm of the supersensuous and not of the unprovable. The method of proof which appears over and over again through Lull's multitudinous works is dreadfully ineffective to the modern reader. It would be waste of time to go minutely into its barren wastes and wildernesses. The general idea is that of a mechanical method for finding out the different ways in which things may be placed under categories. We have a number of concentric circles, divided into compartments denoted by different letters of the alphabet. These letters denote in different circles different ideas. Thus we have in one nine subjects — God, Angel,

¹ *De Contemplatione*, chap. clvi.

Heaven, Man, The Imaginative, The Sensitive, The Negative, The Elementary, The Instrumental. In another circle we have nine predicates—Goodness, Magnitude, Duration, Power, Wisdom, Will, Virtue, Truth, Glory. In another we have nine questions—Whether? What? Whence? Why? How large? Of what kind? When? Where? How? With what? By fixing one of these circles and rotating the others, we obtain a great number of combinations in each circle-compartment, giving all possible questions, and tabulating all possible predications. It is really not a universal proof, but a universal tabulation of statement. Intended originally for religious truth alone, the method was equally applicable, and was soon applied by Lull, to all manner of subjects. Medicine, Chemistry, Mathematics, Astronomy, as well as Theology, were thus treated. Ultimately, in some of the universities, there were Lullist Schools as well as Thomist and Scotist, and the utmost enthusiasm sounds through the volumes written by his followers. “As for me,” says Perroquet, “I will simply say that having once carefully read, in the commencement of my study of this method, certain proofs of the articles of faith in *The Tree of the Sciences*, by this doctor, and in *The Treatise on God*, my mind was so satisfied with them, so

enlightened and convinced, that I then said to myself that after such a conviction I would be willing blindly to believe these articles although they had never been revealed, and if even I should come to forget the proofs, from the mere memory that I had once been convinced of them."

But we are as yet only at the original fountain-head of this enthusiasm, and must return to the discoverer of the method of the *Ars Magna*, whom we find still thanking God on Mount Randa, and determining that the heaven-sent light shall not be hid under a bushel. The fame of the holy man's visions and discoveries soon spread, and Lull returned to the world to preach his method, and to lecture thereon, to any who would hear. There are signs that from the first a certain amount of opposition was roused. The new was always an object of suspicion till it could be assayed and declared genuine, or issued from some well-trusted mint of mind. King James II. summoned his former Seneschal to Montpellier,¹ and bade that his writings should

¹ The name "Mons Pessulanus," which so often recurs in the record, is the Latin correlative of Montpellier. Rousillon had been assigned with the Balearic Isles to the son of the Conqueror, and he constantly dwelt in his palace in its chief town.

be examined by a Franciscan brother. He pronounced the doctrines to be orthodox. To this period must be assigned a book of devotion for each day of the year, the *Ars Generalis*, in which he applied his *Ars Magna* to theology, and the *Ars Demonstrativa*, in which he discussed by the new method: God, procession and generation in the Divine, the other life, angels and the soul. He proceeds also to the realm of morals, where *inter alia* he talks of *Accedia*, "the most general vice, not doing what might be done, not living up to opportunities," which is so familiar to the conscience of to-day. It seems probable that these Lectures, which gave the substance of the *Ars Demonstrativa*, were the necessary exercise through which Lull had to pass in order to gain his Baccalaureate at the University of Montpellier. The rigid regulations of mediæval universities would not have allowed his lecturing as a Master without previous qualification.¹

We have to remember that at this time theo-

¹ The idea that this work was for his degree is borne out by the words of the Life, "quam etiam legit ibidem publice fecitque super eundem suam Lecturam in qua declarat quod prima forma et prima materia constituent Chaos elementale et quod ipsa quinque Universalia et decem Prædicamenta ab ipso Chaos descendant et contineantur in eodem secundum Catholicam et Theologicalem veritatem.

logical faculties were to be found only in the Universities of Paris and Oxford (though nominally also in Naples, Toulouse, and the University of the Roman Court).¹ Lull evidently proceeded in Arts.

Outside of the universities lecturing took place by ecclesiastical leave only in the monasteries, and we find Lull returning from Montpellier to the Cistercian monastery in Palma, there writing, lecturing, and discussing.

It was while delivering his course of lectures here that Lull succeeded in taking a step towards the second of the great objects of his life, the founding of colleges for missionary languages. In 1276 he set up such a school for the study especially of Arabic at Miramar, one of his own old possessions. The experiment roused royal interest: King James endowed the monastery with an annual income of 500 florins² for the support of thirteen Franciscan friars, who were thus to be trained for future work among the Saracens. This first attempt was crowned with no great success, for the friars soon grew weary and deserted. Their rivals, the Dominicans, took the vacant places; but whether the missionary motive continued or not we have no

¹ Rashdall, *Medieval Universities*, vol. i. p. 8.

² The gold florin was worth about six shillings.

evidence. We know that in A.D. 1483 this school was absorbed in the Majorcan University. Lull, however, was rejoiced at this instalment of success, and we find it stated that John XXI. confirmed the institution on December 16 of the first year of his Pontificate (1276).

Confident now in the possession of his God-given *Ars*, Lull sought a larger audience, and betook himself to Montpelier, which was part of his sovereign's domain, and to Paris, whose university was the intellectual centre of the world. His detractors assert that he went there to learn grammar; but we may here accept the eager disclaimers of his Franciscan eulogists, and believe that his object was to teach rather than to learn. In both places he lectured on his Art and published a number of his books. The different authorities give a rather tangled account of the various journeys undertaken at this period. We have glimpses of an intensely fervid activity, acting in the belief that the method was definitely inspired, and that it was his duty to stir up bodies of learning, kings and governors, to carry out these plans thus graciously given him by God. After many such wanderings we find him seeking the supreme authority of the Pontiff for his favourite scheme for schools of missionary

languages. Ten years had passed since Pope John had blessed Lull's College at Miramar, but the latter desired supreme authority for a wider sweep of such endeavour. In 1287 or 1288 he reached Rome, but found, to his deep disappointment, that Pope Honorious IV. had just died. Knowing the whirlpools in which all the interest of the Curia was to be swallowed until the new Pontiff should be appointed, he immediately left Rome.

Once more he went to Paris. By this time his fame had spread throughout the world of thought, and he lectured on the *Ars Generalis* in the Hall of the Chancellor Berthold.¹ During this stay in Paris he formed a close friendship with a certain doctor named Thomas, from whom he learnt much and to whom he taught much. Many of his works are dedicated to this friend, and Bovillus, his chronicler, hands it down that with him he reversed relations, pupil teaching teacher. Lull taught Thomas his whole *Ars*, giving it back instead of money—in return for verbal teaching, giving spirit; instead of a dead letter, a life-giving doctrine. We find a memorial later on of this friendship during Lull's second visit to Paris, when (in July 1299) he published

¹ Berthold was still Chancellor as late as A.D. 1295.—*Chart. Univ. Paris*, ii. 24.

there his *Question of the Master Thomas* answered according to the *Ars of Lully*.

The terms here used suggest that this was the course of lectures by which Lull obtained his Doctorate in Theology, that Thomas was the examiner appointed, and, according to the enthusiastic report of the chronicler, that the examiner gained far more in friendship and permanent mental enrichment than usually falls to his lot. Lull's vogue increased, and he gained admiring followers, who considered themselves as forming a Lullist School; while the records of his lectures are kept in numerous volumes on Philosophy, Theology, Medicine, Astronomy, Chemistry, etc., published in Paris. A few years thus passed left him free to return to Montpellier, where, under the favour of the king, he lectured, and published the *Ars Inventiva*, in which he simplified his previous figures, cutting down or dissimulating "propter fragilitatem humani intellectus."

Many of his works during this period were written in his native Catalan. It needs some little historical imagination to realise the boldness of such an action as this. The learned dead language common to the *savants* of all Europe was naturally the one suitable medium for conveying great truths. The vernaculars,

debased remnants and amalgams of nobler tongues, were possible only for the common speech of everyday, or, at highest, for works of slight moment. Lull's eagerness to give a God-sent message caused him to appeal to the people; his red-hot zeal resented the restriction involved in translating his thoughts into an alien language, which served only to obscure them from the multitude. He was the first to prove what is now the commonplace of our knowledge, that popular tongues gain a new dignity when entrusted with the treasure of great works. The history of Italian under Dante and Petrarch, of English under Wycliffe and Purvey, of German under Luther, has proved that the living speech of the people is capable of a grandeur fully equal to that of the dead tongue of the learned. The work of the Christian missionary is proving the same truth in China to-day, where the spoken Mandarin dialect, despised of scholars, is gaining a new dignity and versatility through the extensive Christian literature written in it for the common people.

Lull's was just the mind to strike out such new methods and trust such new ideas. His fervour grew, and he set himself once more to travel, till for a while he settled in Genoa, where

a new step in the fulfilment of his life-purpose was taken. The great commercial activity of this city, its constant intercourse with the African and other Moorish communities, quickened his purpose, and he put into use his toilsomely-won knowledge of the Saracen tongue by translating his *Ars Inventiva* into Arabic. His particular type of missionary enthusiasm had been kindled on the altar of the renunciation of St. Francis, and we find him frequently associated with the Franciscans in his work. In 1290 he obtained letters from the Franciscan Minister-Provincial in Majorca, Raymond Gaufidus, dated November 8 of that year, asking that Lull should be kindly received everywhere by the Minorite Brothers, "to whom he has always been a benefactor." Gaufidus exhorts those who bear similar office to his own among the Romans, the Apulians, the Sicilians, to allow their friars to learn the new Art in convenient places. We can picture Lull, in the garb of a penitent, which he always wore after his ten years of hermitage,¹ eagerly wandering from monastery to monastery, presenting his credentials, infusing the Priors with his missionary enthusiasm, gathering the friars

¹ Notes by compiler of record in *Acta Sanctorum* to Bouville's *Life*.—*A.S.*, tom. v. p. 668.

round him, firing their imagination with the idea of converting the infidel, leading them through the mazes of his scholastic theology, winning everywhere the homage due to the Inspired, the "Illuminated." Encouraged by the interest aroused, he went once more to Rome, in hopes of securing the Holy Father's approval of missionary training colleges. The Curia was too full of more secular ideas; Lull returned in 1291 to Genoa, convinced that if the Great Powers of the Church would not stir in the work, God meant him to do the work himself. They would not train men: then he would himself go to the African shores, and try by word of mouth and logical discussion to bring the Moslem to Christ.

The second stage of Lull's life was ended.

CHAPTER V.

FOREIGN MISSIONARY.

FOR years past Lull had known the glow of triumphant assertion of the great Christian doctrines in terms of scholastic logic. In many a lecture hall he had guided admiring pupils through mazes of verbal discussion, and had watched the light of recognition on their faces as they reached the familiar goal of some final statement concerning the Trinity, the Godhead, or the Immortality of the Soul. His own radiant spiritual experience had crowned this sense of mental achievement: his *Ars* was indeed God-given and convincing. He was sure that the unbeliever had but to be led through the same processes to ensure his conviction. "I want," said he, "to preach in the land of the Infidels the Incarnation of the Son, and the Three Persons of the Trinity. The Mahometans do not believe in this, but in their blindness think we worship three Gods."

Genoa was at that time, as now, one of the great ports for the trade with North Africa. Lull, disappointed of aid from the Pontiff and Monarch, came to Genoa that he might put into practice his purpose of a personal mission to Africa. The fame of his Illumination had preceded him, and the Genoese received him with open arms. The Eighth Crusade had just dragged its slow length to an end, and the Christians were finally driven away from the Holy Land by the Soldan's might. Probably the long failures of the past century had turned men's minds somewhat from the methods of force to those of persuasion. Genoa received Lull as a hero, and made much of him and his enterprise. His passage was taken in a ship then lying in the harbour ready to sail for Tunis, and all his books and baggage placed upon it. But the day of popular enthusiasm proved the day of Lull's failure. When all was arranged, and the ship was ready to sail, he began to realise that he would probably be put to death instantly on his arrival on the African shore, or at least would be condemned to lifelong imprisonment. The Tempter used the popular admiration to puff up the missionary, and, to quote the words of the old chronicler, "fearing for his own skin (as did St. Peter during our

Lord's Passion), forgetting the plan that he had set before himself,—that he had determined to die for Christ in converting the Unbelievers to His worship,—kept back by some indolent fear, Lull stayed behind at Genoa—very likely by the permission or dispensation of God, that he might not presume too much on his own strength."

But when he saw the ship sail without him, he repented bitterly for the scandal he had caused by his timidity, and fretted himself into a fever which seemed likely to end his days. Hearing soon after that another ship was to sail for Tunis, he took passage again, and went aboard with his precious books. But his friends, fearing he would die, brought him ashore, notwithstanding his vehement protests. Lull felt quite certain that his faithlessness had ensured his damnation; the inspired *Ars* might remain for others to use, but he himself would infallibly miss not only martyrdom but heaven.

We find inserted here a story which bears marks of being a pious Franciscan interpolation.¹ It is so characteristic of the times that we incorporate it.

¹ This story is not to be found in the Life by the anonymous contemporary. The authority is Salzinger's Life, at the beginning of the collected works.

“While he lay in this state of depression, the feast of Whitsuntide drew near, and he caused himself to be carried or led into the Church of the Preaching Brothers (Dominicans). As he heard the brothers chanting the *Veni Creator* he sighed to himself, ‘might it not be that this Holy Spirit would save me?’ Weak as he was, he had himself carried into the dormitory of the Dominicans, and threw himself on one of the beds. There, as he lay, he saw a light like a little star, and heard a voice saying, ‘In this Order thou canst be saved.’ Whereupon Lull sent for the brothers and asked to be dressed in the habit of the Dominican Order. The Prior, however, was absent, and the brothers must needs delay till his return. When Raymond returned to his lodgings he recalled the fact that the Minorites, or Franciscans, had accepted and loved his *Ars* more than the Dominicans. He therefore thought he would turn away from the latter and enter the Franciscan Order. While he was meditating thus there appeared in lines of light on the wall a cord girdle such as the Minorites wear. This sight comforted him; but above the cord he saw the pale star of his former vision, and heard its voice threatening, ‘Did I not tell thee that thou canst be saved

only in the Order of the Preaching Brothers : mark, therefore, what thou doest.' Raymond then, considering on the one hand that he would be damned unless he joined the Dominicans, on the other that his *Ars* and his books would be lost unless he joined the Franciscans, chose deliberately (oh wonder !) rather his own eternal perdition than that the *Ars* should be lost, which he knew he had received from God, to the salvation of multitudes and to the glory of God. Notwithstanding the continued threats of the star, he sent for the Franciscan Prior and begged for the dress of the order. The Prior promised him this when he should come nearer to death.

" Raymond, though thus despairing that God would save him, wished nevertheless to confess and to make his dying declaration, lest his *Ars* should lose influence through suspicion of his own heresy. When the priest, for this purpose, brought the Body of Christ into his presence, and placed it before Raymond's face, standing straight opposite him, Raymond felt his own face, which he had held straight, pressed as if by someone's hands towards his right shoulder, and it seemed to him that the Body of Christ was at the same time moved in the opposite direction to his left shoulder,

as if to say 'Thou shalt suffer condign punishment if now thou takest Me.' But Raymond, firm in his resolution that he was willing rather to be eternally damned than that, by any evil report concerning himself, his Art should perish which had been revealed to the honour of God and the salvation of many, felt his face turned back. Then seeing the Body in the hands of the priest, he threw himself out of bed, and kissed his feet, and thus received the Body of Christ, that by such feigned devotion he might save the aforesaid *Ars*. Oh wondrous temptation ! or rather, as it seems, wondrous dispensation of Divine proving ! Abraham the Patriarch formerly, against hope, believed in hope. This man indeed steadily preferred to his own salvation the salvation of his doctrine, by which many were to be converted to understanding, and loving, and worshipping God. As the sun is covered by a cloud while none the less it is burning in itself, so he, under some obscuring of his mind despairing of God, is proved to love God and his neighbour, for God's sake, infinitely more than himself—as is evidently to be inferred by what we have said."

We may take this to be a pious attempt of some Franciscan writer to glorify Lull's choice of the Minorite Order in opposition to that of

the rival Dominican. He has always been one of the Franciscan heroes, and there can be no doubt that he was of the Franciscan party. It seems probable that he actually joined the Third Order of St. Francis. He is constantly spoken of and painted as a "Hermit," and Bovillus tells us that he lived for ten years as a hermit, and never after doffed the garb of a penitent. The only actual account of his entering the order is that given in the fanciful quotation we have here made; and even there it is not very clear that, as he did not die, he permanently became a Tertiary. Whatever grain of truth there may be in the story, we have here evidence of the supreme value attached by his followers to his books; and it is pathetic—grotesque as are the details—to find Lull represented as choosing his own eternal perdition sooner than allow any damage to his beloved *Ars*.

The fever into which Lull's despondency had thrown him continued, and the sick man's perpetual prayer was to be allowed to go to Africa. As it seemed likely that he would die anyhow, his friends ultimately yielded, and at last he was put on a barque, bound for Tunis. The ship put to sea, and the passenger began at once to mend; in two or three days, to every-

one's astonishment, he had completely recovered. The passion of his soul reasserted its sway. It had seemed that the panic of a moment was to destroy the purpose of a lifetime; now he realised that the black cloud of despondency had been its sufficient punishment, and that yet there lay before him service for his God. It was as with the prophet of old, who in the moment of reaction after Carmel fled from Jezebel and lay down beneath the juniper bush, asking that he might die. The Angel of the Lord gave him the heavenly food by which he went for his forty days and nights in the wilderness, that he might there learn the higher service that lay before him. So Lull felt the touch of the heavenly messenger, heard the heavenly voice, rose from his bed of depression girded his loins afresh, and turned his face toward the infidel desert. The old fire burned within him; the strong salt breezes that fanned the fever from his face spoke of new life and service. All the years of preparation were now to see their fruition. The great powers of earth, King and Emperor and Pope, had refused to help: on him, and him alone, lay the burden of fulfilment. The Moslem needed but to have set clearly before him the truth: he would surely accept it. Had he not seen

the triumph of his method in many a lecture hall of Paris, of Montpellier, of Italy and Majorca? It was ignorance alone which stood in the way. The doom of Islam was sealed; to him was given the glory of bringing back to the Saviour's crown those fair realms where once Augustine and Cyprian and Synesius had ruled great Christian Churches. His disciples had acclaimed him the Illuminated Doctor; God's illumination could not be in vain.

Thus, filled with a faith so sublime that it confidently claimed reason as its handmaid, Lull landed in Tunis in the end of 1291 or beginning of 1292.

There was sufficient intercourse between the Moor and the Christian philosopher in Spain to allow of Lull's admission into Tunis as a wandering scholar who was prepared to enter into philosophical discussions with the men of learning of the city. He professed himself anxious to discover the truth, and declared himself willing to be converted to Mahometanism if he could only be convinced. Meanwhile he rang the changes of his logical method through the various attributes of God, and endeavoured to pin his opponents down to a necessity of Christian faith. It is difficult to recognise the force, or indeed the exact meaning, when he debates thus:

“I say, indeed, that the acts of goodness are that which is of the nature of making good, of being capable of being made good, of doing good (*actus bonitatis, bonificativum, bonificabile, bonificare*); the acts also of greatness are that which is of the nature of making great, of being capable of being made great, of magnifying, and so of all the other Divine dignities. . . .” But we can enjoy better his perpetual insistence on the necessity of the Doctrine of the Trinity for a true conception of the Godhead. “Without the Doctrine of the Trinity we should be driven to suppose an eternal Creation; otherwise we must detract from the idea of God’s perfection. The goodness of God cannot be conceived as inoperative; but without the Doctrine of the Trinity we should be compelled to represent it to ourselves as being so until the Creation. Self-communication belongs to the very essence of the highest goodness. This can be perceived as a perfect act only in the Doctrine of the Trinity.” Lull always required “three friends” as essential to the success of his system. These were Subtlety of Intellect, Reason, Good Intention. It speaks well for his breadth and hopefulness that he fully relied on finding all these among the Infidels. It was through such forms of philosophical debate that the Moslem Imams were led; and

in the hope of gaining as a convert the distinguished doctor from the West, their stern unitarian horror at these doctrines was somewhat held in suspense.

A number of the public also were present at the debates, and a considerable impression was made by Lull. Ere long one of the more fanatical of his opponents began to see whither the stranger's purpose was tending. He denounced him to the king¹ as endeavouring to subvert the sacred faith of Mahomet in Tunis, and therefore as worthy of death. Lull was arrested and cast into the vileness of an African prison. For some time he lay there while discussion was held in the court. The king was convinced of the danger, and condemned him to be beheaded.²

But a broader-minded Saracen, "who loved Lull and heard him willingly," distressed at the thought of the destruction of so fine a mind, and at the disgrace which would accrue to a country which so treated a distinguished philosopher, represented to the king the impolicy of the act. He pointed out that though the stranger was

¹ In the growing weakness of the Caliphate we may fairly so translate the word *Rex* in the *Life*, though some less independent dignity would be more accurate.

² So Bovillus.

endeavouring to spread the Christian religion, he was a most discreet and learned and good man ; moreover, should a similar Mahometan missionary attempt to diffuse the doctrine of Islam, the king and all Moslems would applaud his bravery and piety. Moved by these arguments, the king gave orders that the capital sentence should be remitted, but that Lull should be forever banished from the realm.

There lay in the harbour a Genoese ship lading for its home port, and to this Lull was taken. A howling mob gathered round the doors of his prison, so that he made his way to the shore amidst a shower of stones and rain of blows and all the indignities of the fanatic mob. When he reached his ship of safety the edict was read to him that if he ever set foot on the land of Tunis again he should be stoned to death. Battered and bruised, yet safe, Lull knew not what to do. He had been snatched away from the fruits of his labour. He believed that many distinguished men were almost ready for baptism. If he were to leave them, his converts would sink back into the snare of eternal death ; and yet if he were to return, he would almost certainly be slain. The vessel was about to sail, and he must act at once, if at all. The indomitable missionary felt he could not

settle the question by departing, and he decided to return. He slipped away a little before the sails were set for Genoa, and found refuge in another ship which lay in the harbour, remaining there until he might find means for landing secretly. While condemned for a time to inactivity, he set himself to writing a new work, the *Tabula Generalis*, for all sciences.¹ It soon became clear that the popular feeling was still too inflamed for him to venture ashore. News reached him in his refuge that a man had been mistaken for himself in the streets of the city, had been at once set on, and was all but slain, when he was fortunately able to prove that he was not Lull. No good could be gained by further venture; and the missionary, foiled for the time but still determined, returned to Italy and landed at Naples.

A year or more passed, during which he lectured at Naples on his Art. Meanwhile the course of events at Rome suggested that a new opportunity had come for securing the papal furtherance of his scheme for missionary colleges. Ever since his expedition to Tunis, the Chair of St. Peter had been kept vacant through the intrigues of the Cardinals. This vacancy had become such a scandal that in 1294, compelled

¹ September 1292.

to choose somebody, they elected an anchorite famous for sanctity and for ignorance of the world. Later criticism adds to this estimate of character strangely blended elements of weakness and fanaticism, almost of insanity, at any rate a great lack of balance. Celestin v., sorely unwilling, thus became Pope, and round him the world, weary of self-seeking and ambitious Pontiffs, crowded that they might simply receive his blessing. Lull felt assured that here he would find a more cordial and sympathetic welcome for his missionary ideas. He therefore went once more to Rome.

But events outstripped him ere he reached the city. Celestin, weary to bear the necessary business of the Curia, gave himself over to the guidance of others; he purchased time for devotion and retirement by signing documents almost without question; and it was not long before the affairs of the Church got into unbearable confusion. A man once declared Vicar of God could not divest himself of the sacred office, but the weariness of Celestin, stimulated by the crafty ambition of Cardinal Cajetan, risked the outrage; so that Celestin published a Bull legalising resignation, and then availed himself of the new possibility, returning to his former mode of life. Cajetan secured his own election, and when Lull entered the gates of

the Eternal City had already become Pope Boniface VIII., while his predecessor had made the small change from the anchorite's cell to a prison. The new Pope was notoriously a thorough worlding, and Lull found no encouragement. He left no stone unturned, and perpetually supplicated those in authority, but found himself unable to make any impression at all. We are told that he suffered much poverty through his endeavours to persuade His Holiness; but he ceased not from his determination, never doubting that finally he would gain a hearing, because he was not seeking anything for his own good or promotion, but for the good of the Catholic faith. It is a pathetic picture, significant of much. Ambition, labelled as Holiness, sitting on the throne of the Church; Asceticism deposed, confined to prison; burning Zeal vainly seeking a hearing. The enthusiast, temporarily disappointed that Moslems are not compelled by logical conviction, is now with equal faith cheerily sure that ecclesiastical authority has only to see his plan to be compelled by its obvious power to bend all the forces of the Church to its accomplishment. But Ambition indifferently clothes itself in purple and fine linen, while Missionary Love hungers in poverty and is repulsed from the Lateran doors.

While thus persistent in his efforts to enlist the authorities of the Church, Lull was not idle in codifying his previous writings. The *Ars Major*, or *Generalis*, in the form in which it is now preserved, was written at Rome during this visit. At the close he pours out his soul in love of Truth, and confidence in its power above all carnal weapons. "Let Christians, consumed with a burning love for the cause of faith, but consider that since nothing has power to withstand the truth, which by the strength of arguments is mighty over all things, they can, with God's help and by His might, bring back the infidels to the way of faith; so that the precious name of the Lord Jesus, which is in most regions of the world still unknown to the majority of men, may be proclaimed and adored; and this way of converting infidels is easier than all others. For to the infidels it seems a difficult and dangerous thing to abandon their own belief for the sake of another; but it will be impossible for them not to abandon, for the sake of that which is true and necessary, the faith which is proved to them to be false and self-contradictory." And as on the eve of John the Baptist, 1296, he writes the concluding sentences of his labour of love, he ends with these words: "With bowed knee and in all

humility, we pray that all may be induced to adopt this method; since of all methods for the conversion of infidels and the recovery of the Promised Land, this is the easiest and that most in accord with Christian Charity. As the weapons of the Spirit are far mightier than carnal weapons, so is this method of conversion far mightier than all others. As my book is finished on the Vigil of John the Baptist, who was the herald of the light, and with his finger pointed to Him who is the True Light, so may it please our Lord Jesus Christ to kindle a new light of the world which may guide unbelievers to their conversion, that they, with us, may go forth to meet the Lord Jesus Christ, to whom be honour and praise, world without end."

Disappointed, but not discouraged, Lull went forth from Rome, and whenever opportunity offered, he lectured and wrote. Remaining first among his friends at Genoa, he published several books (A.D. 1297), and then took ship to his old home, where he had interviews with his king. He then betook himself once more to Paris. He had always found the university there a friend and helper, and he at once joined again in her stirring intellectual life. Some twenty years before (A.D. 1277) the doctrines of the mystic schoolmen, Sigerius of Bra-

bant¹ and Boetius of Dacia, had been summed up in 219 articles, and Bishop Stephen had obtained their condemnation by a Council of Doctors. The general outline of these doctrines suggests a somewhat daring Agnosticism. Sigerius denied the Trinity, believed that this life is all, that prayer is of no value, that there are falsities in Christ's Law, as elsewhere. He declared that it cannot be that anything existent can be made out of nothing. He practically concluded that a thing might be true in philosophy and yet false in the Catholic faith. Theological condemnation notwithstanding, these ideas were still in the air, and Lull set himself to combat them. During 1297 or 1298 he published a book in which these errors are brought forward, though in inverse order, and combated one by one. The book² has not been edited, but lies in the Paris library, entitled *Declaratio per modum dialogi edita contra aliquorum philosophorum et eorum sequacium opiniones*, and is the same as that which figures in the catalogue as *Liber contra errores Boetii et Sigerii*.

While thus taking his share in the great mental contests of the day, Lull never lost sight of his great purpose. He was seriously alarmed

¹ Dante, *Paradiso*, x. 136.

² *Chart. Univ. Paris*, vol. i. p. 556, note.

at the lack of motive power in Catholic Christianity; and he availed himself of the reputation he had won to seek to bring the influence of Paris University to bear upon King Philip the Fair. In the records we find a letter which he addressed to the university exhorting it to pray the king to found a "studium" at Paris of Arabic, Tartar, and Greek. This letter expresses so fully Lull's broad enthusiasm that we quote it in full.¹

"Faithful to God is he, and inflamed by deepest charity, who sets himself to the knowledge and desire of supreme Wisdom and Love, directing the ignorant, illuminating the blind, bringing back the dead into the way of life, and who for the will of God does not dread the danger of his own adversity and even death. Who shall declare his great glory and renown? Who can count the generations of infidels who this day know not God? Who can think out how many of them are slipping, through their blindness of error, into the darkness of Hell? Oh sorrow! lament indeed such woes, ye faithful Christian people.

"Thou fountain of heavenly wisdom, which in Paris hast intoxicated with wondrous teaching

¹ *Chart. Univ. Paris*, vol. ii. p. 83.

professors so many and of such authority, pour forth, I pray, thy torrents to the lands of the unbeliever, and water their dry hearts with the dew of heaven; drive away their darkness, and open to them the rays of eternal light. Alas! when shall it be that all nations shall walk in thy light, and that every man, walking in the splendour of thy sun, shall see how to greet the light of God?

“With desire have I, Raymond Lull, desired this, because it is supremely to be longed for by all faithful Christians, and because it can be performed by those whose understanding the highest wisdom has divinely illuminated. Happy is that university which gives birth to so many defenders of the faith; and happy is that city whose soldiers, armed with wisdom and devotion to Christ, are able to subdue barbarous nations to the Supreme King. When, O Lord! shall all the earth adore Thee, when shall it sing and bless Thy name, when shall every tribe and tongue serve Thee? Consider this, ye reverend fathers and masters, in your intellects and wills, you whose object is the highest truth and the highest goodness. For as God is to be apprehended and to be loved because He is supremely true and supremely good, so is that apprehension to be mighty because He is infinite, and that

love to be intense at all times because He is eternal. Oh, how happy were the Apostles and Martyrs because their sound went out into all the earth, and the words of their preaching Jesus Christ to the ends of the world! Oh, how precious in the sight of God is the death of those who have called many from death into life! Oh, would that there were many now to walk in their footsteps! truly glorious would it be for the whole of Christendom—and necessary too, for, as I well know through personal experience, there are many philosophers among the Arabs who are endeavouring to pervert worshippers of Christ to the error of Mahomet, and the sons of the infidels reproach us, saying, ‘Where is their God?’

“Moreover, the Jews and Saracens, as far as they are able, are seeking to convert the Tartars to their sects; and if it should happen—which God forbid!—that the Tartars should become Jews or Saracens, it may well be feared that it would issue in irreparable harm to the whole of Christianity. Such harm took place through the heresy of Mahomet; for when the Saracens had accepted it, they came flooding over us, and the third part of Christianity was overwhelmed. The multitude of the Tartars cannot be counted, and in the shortest period

of time it has subdued by its warlike power many kingdoms and principalities.

“Ye see, reverend fathers and masters, how great a peril hangs over the whole Church of God; unless your wisdom and devotion, by which the whole of Christendom is upheld, opposes its saving shield against the unfaith of the Saracens; if it fail in stemming-back the impetuous torrent of the Tartars—I will say no more, but consider, I beseech you, what may happen. Strange is it that the adversaries of God are more numerous than His defenders, that more are those who blaspheme Him than those who praise Him. God became man for the sake of men, Himself He died that He might restore men to life. Yet many have now fallen away from the unity of the Church, as the Greeks and many other schismatics. Consider how evil a return for good is being rendered to God, and how great an insult by those who were created for His praise, and how great a persecution threatens us who believe. Consider of what we shall be called in question by God at the Last Judgment, when He will require from us an account for the death of those who, through our preaching and example, ought to have enjoyed eternal life.

“Thus conscience stings me, and compels me

to come to you, whose discretion and wisdom is supremely concerned to bring about a mighty remedy,—pious, meritorious, a service pleasing to God and useful to the whole world. I mean that here in Paris, where the spring of Divine knowledge gushes forth, and where the light of the Truth shines forth on Christian peoples, there should be founded a faculty for Arabic, Tartar, and Greek studies. Thus we may be able to learn the languages of the adversaries of God; and that our learned men, by preaching to them and teaching them, may by the sword of the truth overcome their falsehoods and restore to God a people as an acceptable offering, and may convert our foes and His to friends. And if it please God that this should come about, He will be bringing about for us the greatest possible exaltation and extension of Christianity. And of this inestimable benefit ye will be the beginning; and thou, University of Paris, in vain shalt thou declare thyself least in thy learned men; for from thee shall issue light to all nations, and thou shalt bear testimony to the truth; and to thee shall flow together masters and disciples, and all shall drink from thee universal knowledge. What good shall there be in the volumes of the Greeks and Arabs that shall not be known to

thee when, without an interpreter, thou shalt know their languages. Who can estimate how great praise and honour to God, how great compassion of love towards the poor wanderers, and how much good will follow in this and from this place.

“And this may easily come about if ye offer your petitions to the illustrious King of France, that he who stands out the noblest among the kings of the earth think well to extend his well-deserved charity to this most noble purpose, namely, to found and to endow the aforesaid faculty or faculties.

“He will hear you, I make no doubt at all, when once he has grasped the importance of this matter.”

Two other letters of Lull's on this subject are still extant.¹ One of these is addressed to Philip, King of France, in which the City of Paris is spoken of as the mother and mistress of Christian truth and knowledge. The other is to a friend. These epistles Raymond dictated when he was staying in Paris the second time (1298-1299).

Finding, after eighteen months in Paris, that he made no more impression on King Philip than

¹ Denifle's note to *Chart. Univ. Paris*, vol. ii. p. 84.

he had made on others, the indomitable enthusiast, thrown back once more upon his own efforts, departed to the nearest piece of missionary work that he could find. Africa seemed still closed; he therefore went back to Majorca, and set himself to the conversion of the numerous Saracens still remaining in the island.

We have traces of his activity on this as on many others of his journeys. At Genoa, in February 1300, he finished a shortened form of the *Ars Generalis*, and at Montpelier he issued a Tract on Preaching. When he reached Majorca, his well-stored mind poured forth its thoughts in ever-abounding publications. A large number of his works bear date 1300, and were issued from Palma or Montpelier. It is also recorded that "innumerable Saracens there he brought into the way of salvation." The prophet had honour in his own country.

CHAPTER VI.

MISSIONARY AND ALCHEMIST.

DURING the thirteenth century a new peril began to threaten the civilised world. One of those vast unrests which from time to time force barbarian hordes from their remote fastnesses upon the cities of established realms had brought the fierce Mongol tribes sweeping through Asia and Russia, until they impinged upon the very shores of the Mediterranean, the centre of the world. Their tribal name of Tatars became known to everyone, and with that name was associated every horror of blazing cities, holocausts of human heads, outrage of every sanctity of home and life, wild orgies and debauches of blood. When Saint Louis of France heard of them he cried, according to the old story, "Well may they be called Tatars, for their very deeds are those of Tartarus." They seemed to the conscience of Europe to be the

locust-spawn of the pit foretold in the Apocalypse and this idea has made permanent the first *r* in their name as a record of Louis' pun. It was impossible for an earnest missionary like Lull, sharing in the great struggle for the spiritual supremacy of the world, eager for the triumph of his Lord, to ignore this portent. He had already beheld missionary efforts on the part of Mahometan and Jew to win these invading hordes to their faith, and, as we have seen in his letter to the University of Paris, he was anxious to make a similar attempt, for Christ's glory. While he was working in Majorca, rumour brought the news that Cassanus, "Emperor of the Tatars," was making all Syria, including Cyprus, his own. Lull's zeal saw its opportunity, and he instantly took ship to Cyprus. Arrived there, he found, instead of the sacked cities and infuriated warriors of his vision, the sunlit lands of Cyprus in their usual calm: the whole news was false. He thereupon put to himself the inquiry, what God's will could be in allowing him thus to be misled? Not in vain had he been filled, surely, with this longing to bring the Tartars to Christianity; no action could be unguided—his visit to Cyprus must have been for some purpose, which it was now for him to discover. The

cry of the first great missionary, "Lord, what wouldst Thou have me to do?" was ever on Lull's lips. He knew himself impelled to use his opportunities in the island where he found himself. He therefore went to the King of Cyprus and besought him that he would compel the infidels and schismatics to attend Lull's preaching on the subject of the Faith. Jacobites, Nestorians, and Maronites,¹ as well as Moslems, were thus to be brought to the Catholic fold. These enforced attendances at a Christian apologist's lectures would, we fear, have gone sorely against the grain. We can imagine somewhat of the scene in Lull's mind from the graphic picture of Browning in his "Holy-Cross Day," describing the annual compulsory attendance of the Jews at a Christian sermon in Rome; but there is at anyrate the relief in the present case that no worship was enforced, and that apparently the "predicatio" of Lull was to have been accompanied by a "disputatio," in which the heretics could have their say. In fact, all that we have seen of Lull assures us that he confidently

¹ Salzinger speaks of "Momminœ," and Bouville speaks of "Georgians," while the editor of the *Life in the Acta Sanctorum* plausibly suggests, instead of these unknown sectaries, Maronites.

appealed to reason, and would scorn compulsory assent.

The King of Cyprus must have speedily found that he had rather more of the zealous missionary's requests and plans than he cared for. Lull asked him also to send him to the Saracen Soldan, and to the King of Egypt and of Syria, that he might inform them of the holy Catholic faith. But kings have not usually been very ready to stir up religious strife among their subjects, or to send missionaries for the conversion of their brother monarchs, and we find that the King of Cyprus "cared for none of these things." Whereupon Lull, "trusting in Him who gives the word with great power to those who preach, began to work sturdily amongst the aforesaid heretics, by preachings and disputations, with God's help alone." This vigorous preaching campaign was interrupted by a strange illness which came over him. It was some time before he found out the cause of his weakness. During his stay here he was being ministered to by two assistants, a clerk and a boy servant. These two, "not setting God before their eyes, and unheeding of their own salvation, thought to gain unjust possession of the goods of the man of God." When he perceived that he was being poisoned by them,

Raymond "dismissed them from his service with a calm and gentle heart." Escaping thus the perils of false brethren, which were his portion as well as that of his great predecessor Paul, he removed to Famagusta, a town on the south-east of the island, where he was joyously received by the guardian of the Church and assiduously nursed back to health.

At this period of his life contact with the schismatics of the Church fired his imagination for their conversion to Catholicism. Reports of huge and remote travel which have come down to us may be dismissed for lack of evidence; but apparently Lull visited Armenia once or more during his residence in Cyprus. It was during the fall of the year 1300 that he reached the island. He states that in January 1301 he wrote a book about what a man ought to believe about God *in urbe Alleas* in Armenia. We find a further reference in his treatise *De Fine*,¹ where he speaks of having gone to Cyprus and into Armenia. He did not stay there long, for he found the climate unhealthy. Reflexions of his teaching and controversies with the Eastern heretics are to be found in many of the works dating from these years. In one of his works we have represented Five Wise Men

¹ Dist. 2, part 3.

coming together : a Latin Christian, a Greek, a Nestorian, a Jacobite, and to them presently comes a Saracen "Oh, what a danger," cries Lull, "that it should be any of these who should convert the Tartars." The Wise Men then proceed to debate their respective tenets. The Latin maintains, against the Greek, that the Holy Ghost proceeds from the Father and the Son ; against the Nestorian, that in Jesus Christ there is only one Person ; against the Jacobite, that in Jesus Christ there are two Natures ; and against the Saracen, that in God there is a Trinity, and that there has been an Incarnation. Doubtless we have here the echo of many an earnest debate.

We have traces of the indefatigable man wandering over Europe amidst the centres of learning of France and Italy, and at his favourite Genoa, lecturing and writing books. Either during this period or earlier his inquisitive mind led him to search out the secrets of such alchemy and science as was attainable. In many points there is a striking resemblance between Lull's type of mind and that of his great English contemporary Roger Bacon. The man who believed he could find a universal transmuter of thought applied the same idea of universality to the world of matter. Physical

science and mental science were conceived of as parts of the same method. It was a deep and true idea which began and closed the statements of analysis of the earliest alchemists with ascriptions of praise to the Trinity. The man who sought to discover the elixir vitæ and the philosopher's stone incurred popular suspicion of wizardry, but to himself he seemed—most truly—to be searching into the hidden regions of God's working. Lull was convinced that his *Arts* could be applied to medicine, to physics, to astronomy, to mathematics, with success as unfailling as to theology. In the course of his travels he came once more to Montpelier, and there made the friendship of Arnould de Ville-neuve. Arnould was famous as an alchemist. Lull became his pupil, and procured from him the secret of transmuting metals into gold. This secret could be understood only by the pure in heart. Into this study, as into all others, Lull entered with deep devotion. It was for the glory of God that the wealth accruing should be directed. Lull's enthusiastic mind saw here a new lever for moving the obdurate hearts of kings, and a new means of gaining the sorely needed money for his great spiritual campaigns. The Church looked with grave suspicion upon all such researches, and round the fact that

Lull took his share in them has gathered a mysterious halo of romance. To this limbo of untrustworthy romance must be assigned the detailed and circumstantial accounts which are given concerning his visit to England, perhaps even the visit itself. No early authority can be assigned to the details of this story, which has in modern times formed the subject of an anonymous dramatic poem. It is stated that John Cremer, Abbot of Westminster, attracted by Lull's fame as an alchemist, sought him out by the orders of Edward II., and brought him to England with promises of royal support for his schemes against the infidels. He was lodged in the precincts of Westminster Abbey, and was induced to impart his secret of the philosopher's stone in order that the king might use the gold thus gained for a new Crusade. When the gold had been made, the king kept it and then refused to follow out the promise. This is a touch of nature, and we may well believe that it is what would have happened under these circumstances; but in the absence of sufficient¹ authority we must pass the whole

¹ This visit to London is mentioned by the Contemporary and in Salzinger's Life, with no detail save the mention of a renewed appeal to Pope Clement v. for the formation of missionary monasteries. We know that Lull was at Montpelier

story by. Certain it is that Lull wrote works on mathematics, physics, and natural science, and that many others on these subjects were assigned to his name. Salzinger's great edition does not include such works as the *De Alchimia Opuscula*,¹ the *Apertorium de Veri Lapidis Compositione*, the *Compendium Transmutationis*, or the *De Secretis Naturæ*.² These have been preserved by the enthusiasm of his disciples a couple of centuries after his death, and offer the usual barren jargon to the inquiring reader of to-day. A reference to the classified list of his works, formed through the loving industry of Perroquet, will show how many treatises on chemistry and medicine are assigned to him.

in April 1305, for he there finished his work *De Fine*, and he was in Majorca in December of the same year. The record necessitates the insertion of the English visit between these dates. To add to the difficulty, the date of the accession of Clement v. to the papal throne was not till November 1305. It is therefore impossible that the appeal to this Pope could have been made during the English visit. The editor of the *Acta Sanctorum*, feeling the difficulty and yet the necessity of accepting the authority of the Contemporary biographer, suggests that the appeal was made to Clement *before* his papacy. Wadding expresses disbelief in the story, and denies the genuineness of the books of alchemy said to have been issued by him there. We have, however, a note at the end of one edition of the *Ars Generalis* that it was begun in London in November 1305. This, if genuine, settles the question.

¹ Edition of A. D. 1546.

² Edition of A. D. 1542.

A brief description of his *Arbor Medicinæ* will show that no permanent contribution has been made to the mental wealth of the race. It was a favourite device of Lull, as a variant from his revolving circles, to picture a tree with root, trunk, branches, twigs, leaves, and fruit. At the root of this tree is a circle composed of letters signifying the four humours, and therefore it is divided into four parts—the choleric, sanguine, phlegmatic, melancholic. Along the trunk are the four terms, caloric, dryness, humidity, frigidity. Thence two great branches are divided, each with its meanings, and so on through the various subdivisions of the tree. From the apposition of these various fruits and products in some mysterious way results were obtained.

This tree very frequently emerges in Lull's various works. The theory of the illustration is as follows:—

The roots are the principles of the art.

The trunk is the substance or the entity which results from the union of the principles.

The branches are the principal parts or the species of the subject.

The twigs are the various powers and faculties or properties.

The leaves are the accidents,

The flowers are the natural operations of the other parts.

The fruit is the result of these operations.

In the *Arbor Scientiæ* we have different pictures of the Tree Vegetable, the Tree of the Sensations, the Imaginative, the Human, the Moral, the Angelical, the Material, the Celestial, the Apostolical, etc. etc. At the roots are chaos on the one side and *hyle* (matter) on the other. On the one side stands Raymond, on the other an inquiring monk; while above the tree is some celestial figure, apparently that of Christ, cutting off a fruit. If we may judge by the enthusiasms of the Lullists in the following centuries, all this conveyed some satisfactory meaning to them, and we may be assured that at one stage of human inquiry the system played a useful part. But any system which tries to make all knowledge plain to every intellect, independent of its calibre, must fail.

A vast number of treatises are attributed to his pen. His faithful Perroquet gives a list of 488 separate works, and evidently takes great pride in their multitude. "The mere titles," he adds, "show the subtilty of the spirit of this great doctor. But this is only a portion of his works, which are more than four thousand

in number, in the opinion of several trustworthy authors." There is a great deal of repetition, as is natural when we realise that mostly we have here reports of sets of lectures in which his *Ars* was applied to the various subjects of universal knowledge. Many of them are no doubt genuine products of his enormous mental activity and enthusiasm. But care is needed in using extracts whereby we may decide on the origins of his system. When a School of Philosophy is formed in an uncritical age, we have always to watch for accretions through the zeal of partial disciples, who seek the great name of the master for theories of their own.

One work accepted as genuine by good Lullists is entitled *De Auditu Kabbalistico*, and an attempt is made to connect the *Ars* of Lull with the Kabbala¹ of mediæval Judaism. The name Kabbala is in this little work derived from (Ch)abba, *Father*, and Allah, *God*, (!) and a semi-divine authority is ascribed to it. But nowhere else in the vast areas of printed page which have come down to us under Lull's name do we find any reference to the Kabbala, and we must conclude that the work is spurious, probably that some later Kabbalist borrowed the

¹ For a short account of the Kabbala, see Ueberweg, *History of Philosophy*, vol. i. p. 417 foll.

prestige of the name of Lull to gain a better standing for his own study. Originally the Kabbala was a system dealing with the nature of man, of Deity, and His emanations. By a mystic and typical method of dealing with the words, and even letters, of the Hebrew Old Testament a huge superstructure was raised, meaningful only to the initiated. In its later developments its upholders frequently found themselves led to the doctrine of the Trinity and the Atonement as represented in Christianity; the Kabbala thus played an important part in the Christian Church about the era of the Renaissance. There is a surface resemblance between some of its methods and those of the *Ars Magna*, but it is only on the surface. It is quite imaginable that some devout Kabbalist wedded his system to Lullism, and gained repute for it by thus borrowing plumes. It is just possible that Lull came into contact with the Kabbala in his later days. The author of *The Zohar*, which professes to be a compilation of doctrines communicated by God to Adam in Paradise, has been discovered to be Moses de Leon, known to have died A.D. 1305, and it has been stated that this book was brought to Catalonia during his lifetime. Thus, while it is possible that Lull had met with it, it is

certain that the original *Ars* was written long before any possible point of contact.

The various works on alchemy assigned to Lull have better claims to his name. After an inspection of several of them, we see no reason for denying his authorship. The treatises *De Quinta Essentia*, *Ars Operatrix*, *Apertorium*, *Natural Magic*, are to be found bound up with other tracts on alchemy by Arnould de Villeneuve, John of Rupescessa, or Albertus Magnus, the fact being that the awakened intellectual interest of the age necessarily reached out to the secrets of nature as well as to those of mind. The magnificent idea of one universal principle running through the whole of a Universe conceived as the expression of the mind of one Divine Being had thoroughly captured Lull's enthusiasm. His huge and detailed incursions into these regions were, in cumbrous but thoroughly mediæval manner, the same attempt as found expression in our own times in Drummond's *Natural Law in the Spiritual World*. It is on these groping experiments that our modern knowledge is built. In the treatise on the *Quintessence* we find accounts of various stills and retorts showing how to extract the four elements from everything—vegetable, animal, and mineral; the fifth

essence thus obtained can be applied in human medicine, in the transmutation of metals, and in the formation of precious stones. In the *Ars Operatrix* we have "secrets revealed from heaven." The author was praying with lifted hands; there are four sections; the "first and fourth were not revealed to me, Raymond, as were the second and third." "I got them from King Robert under a secret seal, experiments which had been made by Arnauld de Villeneuve." The author refers to Avicena, the great Moorish physician, and describes the obtaining of the Water of Life. "Whoever uses it will have no infirmity which this cannot cure; if a man will use it as he ought, he will not die, apart from extraneous violence, of any disease, save the natural one ordained of God." "It is formed of the four elements, but is not itself an element. It burns like a candle; this is but seeming—it does not really burn. Its taste is above all others, its fragrance surpasses all others." In the *Apertorium* the description is given of the philosopher's stone. "A stone composed only of the four elements. It is purged of all phlegmatic material and corruption, which is death." In his *Natural Magic* we have prescriptions for the Water of the Moon, the Elixir Vitæ, etc. etc. His *Vade Mecum*, or *De Tincturis*,

speaks of mercury, fermentation, "tincture of fire," and the like. There is a certain hesitation in accepting some of these as genuine; obviously portions, as in the *Ars Operatrix* above, are inserted from some external source, and we can at once dismiss the compendium of the transmutation of the soul, and of the art of metals, handed on by Raymond to Rupert (!), King of the English. Wadding, Mut, and the compiler of the *Acta* are eager to prove that Lull could not have written books on alchemy and magic "which are unworthy of a Christian man, but are fit for hell." Certainly many works were falsely assigned to him, and it seems established that the *Testamentum Novissimum* assigned to him, "made in the island of England, in the Church of St. Catherine in London, towards the Castle before the Chamber (*versus partem castelli ante Cameram*), in the reign of Edward, in whose hands we place this will, in the year 1332," is spurious, not only because the date condemns it, but from internal evidence. We shall see that after Lull's death Eymeric, the Inquisitor-General of Aragon, fiercely impugned his orthodoxy and prevented his canonisation because of his works of alchemy. His apologists attempt to prove, with some success, that he had been confused in the minds of his enemies with

a certain other Raymond, a spurious convert from Judaism. But if Dominican hate might impugn orthodoxy by thus bringing in false accusations, on the other hand Franciscan apologetics, in an age when chemistry still seemed to savour of the black art, has evidently been too eager to free its hero from any taint of natural science. We have seen above that a certain number of the scientific works mentioned bear marks of Lull's style, and that the leading principles of his religious and mental history would lead him to apply the method of universality to the secrets of the Universe.

The mere multitude of works of this nature ascribed to Lull witness to the great hold he had gained on the imagination of his age, and it is a pleasure to find at the shapeless foundations of natural science the same figure which we have beheld bowing before the Cross; to discover, eminent amidst the logical scholasticism of the age, the man whom we have watched driven from earthly lust to heavenly love; to behold, mighty as the captivator of the intellectual imagination of the age, the ardent missionary, braving the perils of the ocean and the dangers of the heathen for the love of Christ. Surely knowledge is in its right place when it crowns itself with its own ideal, the Knowledge of God in Christ.

It is easy to be impatient with the barrenness of a logic and a word-chopping which has had its day and played its part. We are bound, after a considerable amount of weary wandering amidst verbal wildernesses, over acres of printed page, ruefully to acknowledge the justice of the utterance of one who has given thorough examination to his logical method:¹ "That the whole Art of Lull is plainly worthless needs now no special further proof. I might indeed have feared blame that I have given such nonsense so large a space in my exposition, but I should have incurred heavier blame if I had passed by the *Ars Magna* in silence."² "I may by this means save my contemporaries (or perhaps posterity) the trouble of wandering in his enormous and abounding wilderness."³

But we who stand at the high palace windows cannot afford to despise those who built foundations now out of sight, even though modern builders would build better. And it is not for his logic or his alchemy that we remember Lull, but for his undying enthusiasm, his unfailing faith, his deep mystic devotion, his joyous love for Christ and the world.

¹ Prantl, *Geschichte der Logik im Abenlande*.

² *Ibid.* iii. 177.

³ *Ibid.* iii. 145.

CHAPTER VII.

AFRICA ONCE MORE.

LULL dates his treatise *De Natura* at Famagusta in December 1301. It seems probable that the mysterious illness referred to in our last chapter, said to be due to poisoning and the effects of the journey in unhealthy Armenia, kept him in Cyprus during 1302. We have books dated from Genoa in February and May 1303. Soon after this he visited his beloved Paris once more, for he finished the *Discussion of Faith and Intellect* there in October of that year. The main object of his exhortations was evidently the same; for after this visit to Paris he returned to the palace at Montpellier, and, as he tells us in his note at the end of his *Disputation of Raymond with Hamar the Saracen*, he presented proposals for a campaign against the unbelievers. Apparently circumstances had so far modified his plans that

a genuine armed Crusade was contemplated. In Lull's presence the King of Aragon sent a letter to the Pope offering his kingdom, his person, his army, and his treasure to fight the Saracens at any time it might please the Pope and Cardinals. But the days of the Crusades were over, and nothing came of the king's offer. For some time Lull remained for the most part in his native island. He was at the palace in Montpellier in April 1305 (when he finished his work *De Fine*), and again in December of the same year. During this interval must have occurred, if it occurred at all, the reputed visit to London referred to in the last chapter. No doubt his energy took him to many places for preaching and lecturing, of which we have no trace. But in the year 1306 the old missionary fervour, inflamed by successes among the Saracens of the Balearic Isles, drove him forth for a new attempt upon their stronghold of faith on the North African coast. He landed in a ship from Genoa at the port of Bugia.¹ On the journey he much impressed his fellow-voyagers with his dialectic skill. Immediately on landing, like Jonah of old, he commenced to preach in the great square of the city. He wasted no time in

¹ Famous in those days for its wax ; hence the French word *bougie*.

appeasing prejudice. "The Law of the Christians is true, holy, and acceptable to God. The Law of the Saracens is false and full of error, and this I am prepared to prove." We seem to recognise in this action not merely the missionary eager to lead unbelievers to the truth, but the enthusiast who, under the dazzling splendour of the Vision of the Christ, set it as one of his aims to die for Him. We cannot be surprised that, as he preached at large in Arabic, a multitude rushed upon him attempting to stone him. The ecclesiastical ruler of the city, himself famed as a philosopher, sent messengers to rescue him from the violence of the mob, and had him brought before him for private judgment. When this man inquired of Lull how he could be so mad as to thus preach publicly against Mahometanism, when he knew that such action exposed to judicial sentence of death, Raymond answered that the true servant of Christ, knowing experimentally the truth of the Catholic faith, ought not to fear the dangers of bodily death when he might be the means of bringing the grace of spiritual life to the souls of unbelievers. A long debate followed, in which Lull brought forward his favourite argument of the necessity of the Trinity to save the Deity from the charge of the otiose. Meanwhile the mob remained

outside, raging for the blasphemer's death ; but the magistrate forbade their interference, and sent Lull to prison, reserving him for the legal death penalty. He did not, however, reach the jail before he had been much maltreated by the mob, beaten with fists and clubs, and dragged by his long beard. He was cast into a noisome dungeon close to the sewer of the thieves' quarters, where life was barely supportable. The next day a great Council was held of all the Mollahs, under the presidency of their chief, and it was decided that Raymond should be brought forth ; that if they found that he was a philosopher, he should straightway be put to death ; but if he proved to be a man of no special intelligence, he should be allowed to go free, as being a fool. One of those, however, who had been on board with him during the journey from Genoa and had frequently heard his reasoning, urged them, in alarm, not to allow him to appear in the judgment hall, for he would advance such arguments as it would be difficult or impossible for them to answer. His foes, therefore, paid his powers the compliment of leaving him in prison. The severity and insanitoriness of his quarters were likely soon to put an end to his life, but the merchants of Genoa and Catalonia who resided in the city

used the weight of their influence to procure some alleviation of his imprisonment.

In this Saracen prison Lull dwelt for six months. Many attempts were made to convert him. Every inducement was offered—freedom, wives, money; “but, founded on the Rock, that man of God Raymond answered, ‘If you will believe in the Lord Jesus Christ, and will give up that erroneous creed of your own, I promise you the greatest wealth and eternal life.’” After many such debates it was determined that a Saracen champion and Lull should be pitted against each other, that each should write a book in which his case should be presented, and that that cause should be adjudged victor whose reasonings were decided to be the best. It is characteristic of the age and its faith in its cause that this method should be chosen. Individuals have been won by such disputations; causes, which depend on the assent of multitudes, never. A year or two later (probably A.D. 1308) the book made by Lull for this occasion was published by him at Pisa, entitled *The Disputation of Raymond with Hamar the Saracen*. In it Hamar asserts that he will prove the Incarnation and the Trinity to be impossible. It is therefore agreed that each shall make his book on the subject, and that the whole shall be sub-

mitted to the Pope and the Cardinals, and also to the Saracens. Thereupon the Saracen remarks that he will begin, because he can give reasons so strong that no Christian can confute them. His case is naturally put in the very baldest and shortest form. Lull then rejoins, and argues triumphantly. The volume, published when Lull had left Africa, contains a treatise adapted rather to the rousing of the missionary enthusiasm of the Christian of Europe than the conversion of the Moslem of Africa. The author draws attention to the development of the Tartar empire. There are three sections of the Tartars. The Great Cham rules the first, and he has been preached to by Prester John; the second lies to the north, and dwells in Cotay; the third great Tartar chief (called Corbenda) rules Persia, and has been converted by the Saracens. It is only seventy years since the Tartars appeared, and yet these three rule more land than all the Christians and the Saracens together. The Nestorians and Jacobites, in their hatred of the Latins, have attempted to convert the Tartars, but they have failed. But God has given power to the Latins so that they can win the whole world if they will. Hence Christianity is in the greatest possible danger, unless the Church become truly missionary.

The usual result came from such a controversy. We can well believe the chronicles, which declare that the argument of the prisoner was so convincing that the remedy of force had to be used. The King of Bugia, who lived at Contextina, heard of its fame, and determined that the only safety was to be found in the lifelong expulsion of the arguer. The fact that he was not put to death speaks of several things. The first savage fanaticism had been soothed to rest, Lull's intellect had won respect, his fame made the Moslem ruler unwilling to embitter his relations with Christian kings by slaying the "Illuminated Doctor." He was put on board a ship bound for Italy, with the most stringent orders that he was to be prevented from setting foot again on African soil. Whether through chivalry of intellectual respect, or possibly through superstitious fear of alchemist repute, the Saracens allowed Lull to take all his books with him. Thus ended (A.D. 1306) Lull's second attempt at converting the unbeliever in his own land.

The vessel on which passage had been secured was overtaken by a most violent storm some ten miles from the port of Pisa, and wrecked upon the coast. Many of the passengers were drowned; but Lull, with one companion, came

ashore, naked and just alive, while all his books were lost. He made his way into the city, and was there received with great honour. For forty years he had devoted his life to the great missionary work: it was only right that distinction should be conferred upon the famous teacher, of European reputation, who at the age of seventy had himself risked the wrath of the heathen, had faced the foul discomforts of a Moorish prison for half a year, and had come through a shipwreck. He promptly set himself to the publication of the *Ars Generalis* in its final form, and remained in the city for a couple of years.¹ From this time we seem to find a certain declension from the purely spiritual method which hitherto had sufficed for him. He appeared in the City Council of Pisa, and led the citizens by his eloquent appeals into sending letters to the Pope and the Sacred College, urging the amalgamating of all the military orders into one band of Knights, who should wage perpetual war against the "perfidious Saracens." In the *Disputation with Hamar*, already quoted, which was published during this stay in Pisa, he formulates his appeals to

¹ We have a trace of travel during his Pisan residence in a note at the end of his *Ars Utriusque Juris*, dating its completion at Montpellier in January 1307.

the Holy See. First, he urges, as of old, the institution of four or five monasteries for studying missionary languages. Second, that there should be one order of Knights, who should vow war against the Saracen. He was to be attacked first in rich Granada, next in Barbary, and finally in Syria. Thus the wealth of the earlier conquests would furnish sinews of war; whereas the Holy Land itself was so barren that its conquest, if it were attacked first, would simply deplete the Christian resources.¹ Thirdly, Lull proposed that a tenth of the revenues of all churches should be devoted to this end.

The enthusiasm with which Pisa and its Council furthered his proposals encouraged him

¹ Zwemer, in his *Life*, which came to hand after this chapter was written, claims that we must, in accordance with the general tenor of Lull's life - opinions, interpret this proposed crusade as one of purely spiritual force, but the argument here quoted admits of no interpretation other than that of physical force and material resources.

It is true that in the "Memorial (or Rule) of the Brethren and Sisters of Penitence who dwell in their own homes," discovered by Sabatier in 1901, we find that the brethren were not to take up deadly weapons against any, or even to bear them. But in the Rule given to the Third Order by Nicholas IV. in 1289 this is significantly turned into a provision that they are not to bear arms *excepting in the cause of the Church* (*Church Quarterly*, April 1903). Even if Lull was a Tertiary, this significant variation from the counsel of St. Francis indicates the hesitation in men's minds.

to go once more (in the summer of 1308) to Genoa. He was there, if possible, more successful still. He received from this city similar letters of approval; many of the noble ladies, fired with his zeal, came forward with large gifts, and put at Lull's disposal thirty-five thousand florins¹ for the recovery of the Holy Land. Encouraged by this popular and practical support, the indomitable old man set off once more. Leaving trace of his presence at Montpellier in the publication of a book, he climbed the Alps, and presented himself before Clement v., who had moved the papal chair to Avignon. But he gained scant attention there. Clement was far too much occupied in ensuring his own safety under the protection of the French monarch, to find time for visionary enthusiasts. The dainty Cardinals and Papal Court pointed the finger of ridicule at the eager old figure in the rough hermit's habit: the Great Exile was not favourable to schemes of spiritual extension. Finding the Papal Court indisposed to help him, Lull made his way once more, towards the end of the year 1308, to his beloved Paris. He threw himself with gusto into its thrilling intellectual life, and eagerly lectured on his

¹ Bovillus says 25,000 florins. Perhaps he calculates according to the French fashion.

beloved Art, publishing books at a great rate. He now came into contact with a new force, which had increasingly been felt amidst thinkers during the last years of the thirteenth century. Averroism was making a bold bid for the intellectual dominance of the world, and, recognising in the University of Paris the heart of Christendom, was making a strong attempt to capture it. Lull found in its modern development of "the incompatibility of theology and true philosophy" the very doctrine of the pit, against which he had been fighting all his life. Henceforth he combined with his excursions into the Paynim enemy's country a vigorous fight within the citadel of faith itself, and he fought Averroism unceasingly till his death. That we may understand this new foe, and the danger which was thus threatening the Rational Faith, which was the enthusiasm of Lull's life, we must give a short sketch of its philosophy.



CHAPTER VIII.

AVERROISM.¹ THE COUNCIL OF VIENNE.

THE Moorish invasion of Southern Europe had affected much of the thought, as well as the politics and religion, of the Christian life of the Middle Ages. The Mussulman multitude and its mollahs were permanently distrustful of any science or theorisings that went beyond the plain interpretation of the Koran. But human thought refuses ever to be cribbed and cabined; repeatedly during the Moorish dominance of Spain, the Moslem Courts were radiant with the flowers of poetry, rhetoric, science, and art. Undoubtedly at these epochs Mahometanism did more than Christianity to keep alive thought in the world. In the tenth century the Kaliph

¹ The many scattered references which are found to Averroes and Averroism may be ignored by the student if he has access to Rénan's lucid and learned essay on the subject, first published in 1852.

Hakem II. had a library which so impressed the age that the Chroniclers wildly assign to it a catalogue of 400,000 volumes,¹ and his Court was the acknowledged centre to which authors looked for encouragement and help. Then came a frantic reaction. The usurping Vizir Almansur (A.D. 1002), through motives of interest, encouraged this, or at anyrate imposed no check upon its excesses. The world was as a consequence left the poorer by the destruction of a large part of this magnificent collection of books.

But the roots of philosophy, once planted, are difficult to kill, and they spread beneath the soil even during the confusion of the eleventh century, while the Almoravides were rescuing Moslem power, but destroying Moslem thought. The Almohades, who arose in North Africa on the speedy decay of the Almoravides, were as fanatical in their way; but the liberal taste of Abd-el-Moumen and Joseph Almansur stemmed the tide for awhile, and the Arab writers of their day were able, through their public writing and thinking, to influence the thought of the world. The Europeanised forms given to their names, and the frequent references to them in the scholastic literature of the mediæval

¹ *The Moors in Spain*, p. 155.

universities of Europe, prove this strong influence. Ibn-Tofail, known as Abubacer, Ibn Zohr (Avenzoar), Ibn-Badja (Avempace), and especially Ibn-Sina (Avicenna) and Ibn-Roschd (Averroes), have left their mark upon the history of philosophy and natural science. Averroes, who was born in 1120 and died in 1198, was fortunate in his era, for the previous excesses of fanaticism had provoked a reaction, and the Mussulman Courts of Cordova and Morocco strove to revive in some measure the literary glories of the bygone centuries. It was a movement entirely dependent on the personal favour of the individual monarch, and Islam itself reaped but little benefit. The sunshine which rested on the years of the manhood of Averroes was shortly before his death succeeded by the clouds of disfavour. Practically he has left no name in later Mahometanism; we know him only by his effects on scholastic thought. Legend has gathered round his person, and his original writings are unknown to us. Rénan remarks, on those who criticise the barbarism of his style, that the printed editions of his works offer us "a Latin translation of a Hebrew translation of a commentary made on an Arab translation of a Syriac translation of the Greek text (of Aristotle)." It is really as an

interpreter of Aristotle that Averroes merits our notice. The great Greek was unknown to the Latin world until he was introduced to it by these Arab commentators. His Peripatetic School had faded for awhile; then, after a couple of hundred years, the rediscovery of his works gave it a new vogue. The later movements of Greek thought in Alexandria eventually fired the intellect of the Arab philosophers of Baghdad; and in its later stages Avicenna of Baghdad stimulated Averroes. Through Averroes the philosophers of Christendom learnt the principles of Aristotle, which were destined, by setting new modes of thought in action, to make possible the exact natural science of our own day.¹ Our own Roger Bacon, at Oxford, puts Averroes by the side of Aristotle, and recommends the study of Arabic so as to get behind the bad translations, and thus to obtain true philosophic knowledge.

Averroes busied himself especially with the origin of beings. He passes in review the rival

¹ Latin translations made direct from the Greek followed soon after the Arabic introduction. The Greek text was brought from Constantinople. Substantially, however, it is correct to say that the Scholastics owed their knowledge of the physical, metaphysical, and ethical writings of Aristotle to the Arab philosophers. — See Ueberweg, *Hist. Phil.*, vol. i. p. 430.

theories which in our own time have renewed their conflict, *i.e.* those of creation and development; and finally lays stress on the Aristotelian opinion, in which the prime Agent, by giving movement to matter and transforming it until all that was implicit in it passes into actuality, brings about in the same act the composition of matter and its form. Thus all creation is reduced to *movement*. Nothing is created, for that which is cannot come from that which is not. Matter is eternal. But Averroes really parts company from Aristotle, and diverges into Platonic idealism in some of its forms, when he represents the continual growth and change of matter as a perpetual reaching after what is always existent in transcendent actual Intellect. This transcendent Thought, according to some Arabian philosophers, is God, necessarily the Eternal Cause of Movement. According to Averroes God is placed more remote than this actual Intellect, which he thinks of as the "planetary intelligence nearest to man." When this transcendent intellect acts on man, there are individuals who respond. All human thought is really the manifestation of the transcendent intellect in the individual. The highest bliss of the individual (the Passive Intellect) is a union with the actual Transcendent Intellect.

This, then, is continuous, and one in all individuals, whose difference is in the degree of the illumination. The Divine, then, is unchangeable, is necessarily uninfluenced by prayer, and has no direct knowledge of, or dealings with, particular things. Again, the Actual Intellect alone—that is to say, the common reason of humanity—is immortal. “Divine Providence,” says the Commentator, “has granted to the perishable being the power to reproduce himself, in order to console him, and to give him this sort of immortality in default of all other.” The resurrection is a myth: the individual has not immortality. The only immortality is the consciousness of collective perpetuation of humanity,—a premonition of the theories of Comte in the nineteenth century.

Such, in barest outline, is the doctrine of Averroes. Notwithstanding his profound veneration of Aristotle, the latter’s latent nominalism really led to a divergence in the Arabian School, whose connection with Alexandria revealed itself in a tendency towards Neo-Platonic idealism. The death of Averroes closed his influence on Islam; but Judaism, under the guidance of Moses Maimonides, provided him with many eager disciples, till the Latin Schoolmen, led by Michael Scot, welcomed the new light. Ere long the

Averroists developed the doctrines of their master in directions which he would scarcely have approved. He had preserved the semblance of immortality in his doctrine of the continuance of the species in thought; his followers speedily altered the idea of the unity of the actual intellect into the identity of soul in all men.¹ This doctrine roused the wrath and determined opposition of great schoolmen, such as Albertus Magnus and Thomas Aquinas, who were eager to purge the reputation of Aristotle from this travesty. Averroes, originally a devout Moslem, whose protest had been against the application of philosophic refinements to the plain words of revelation (in the Koran), became, in the minds of the orthodox, the representative of indifferentism to theological science and hatred of the ecclesiastical. The fact is, that the other Moslem writers sank out of sight, and he thus became the inheritor of their composite fame. To him was attached the fictitious stigma which the Middle Ages affixed successively to all thinkers whom it disliked. He was represented as surveying with passionless scepticism the three great religions of the age, Judaism, Islam, and Christianity, and branding

¹ There is a curious resemblance here to one of the fundamental ideas of Buddhism. It practically involves Atheism.

their three founders alike as Impostors. The affixing on foes of the authorship of *The Three Impostors*, legendary though the title was, became a saying of hate, which was often hissed in the dialectic struggles of the theological halls. The subtle scholastic disputes of the University of Paris lingered in the memories of the medical and scientific men who verged towards materialism, and ultimately Averroism became synonymous with scepticism and irreligion. Thus, while Dante places Averroes by the side of the noblest sages of antiquity, Petrarch pictures him as a mad dog barking against the Church. We see a development of hatred as the person of the Great Commentator fades back into the mist. Thomas Aquinas, while he vigorously opposes the Averroist doctrine of the unity of the intellect, yet owes too much to him as an interpreter of Aristotle to despise him. He "regards him as a wise pagan meet for pity, but not as a blasphemer meet for execration." But the Dominicans recognised in his theories the veiled face of the demon of scepticism, and our knowledge of the spirit and history of that Order will enable us to judge of the vigour of damnatory speech and action with which they pursued the Averroists. For some time the Franciscans,

perhaps by force of the fact of Dominican disapproval, tended to receive without dislike the new doctrines. Indeed, from our memory of many of Lull's utterances, approved by the Franciscans, exalting reason, one might have expected some measure of sympathy from him.

But the Averroists, in their discussions in the Schools of Paris, hard pressed by the difficulties of reconciling their philosophical views with orthodoxy, finally took refuge in the maxim, that things might be true in faith which were false in philosophy.

The mind of man was thus divided into watertight compartments in which reason and faith were permanently kept apart, because they could only coexist by the ignoring of their incompatibility. Here was the very heresy which Lull had spent his life in combating, and we do not wonder at his fierce and unrelenting opposition. Rénan, with his characteristic failure to understand a soul aflame with the passion for the Spiritual Incarnate, is ungenerous and unjust when he explains¹ this opposition thus: "Averroism was in his eyes Islamism in philosophy; the destruction of Islamism was, as we know, the dream of all his life." The

¹ *Averroes et l'Averroïsme*, p. 203.

crusade of his life had been the breaking down of the walls of partition between faith and reason, and it was a true instinct which led him to give no quarter in the new battle within the bosom of the Church itself.

Averroism had been making itself heard in Paris ever since A.D. 1240, when we find Bishop William of Auvergne censuring certain of its doctrines, and the Chartularium of that university contains repeated condemnations. In 1271 the rector of the university is warned not to allow the discussion of its propositions, but in six years more we find that there was new necessity for a still more explicit and public condemnation. But though the ecclesiastical authorities continued to inveigh against it, it is evident that the inquiring spirit of the university found a special attraction in its apparent freedom, and many of the masters and students were thorough votaries of Averroism.¹

Towards the end of 1308, Lull, aged in years, but with mental and spiritual fires burning more brightly than ever, reached Paris and flung himself headlong into the conflict with this heresy. The authorities evidently welcomed him, for he was publicly authorised to teach

¹ Pelayo (*Heterodoxos Españoles*, vol. i. p. 516) states that Averroism was dominant in the university.

his doctrine in order to oppose the Averroists. We can picture him, with his old zeal and confidence in the direct Divine gift of his Method, proving by his circles and triangles and trees of knowledge the falsity of his opponents' creed. That this was no mimic battle we can gather from the documents of the university for these years. Evidently Lull, in self-defence, had submitted his *Ars Brevis* (written at Pisa in 1307) to the public opinion of the authorities, for on 10th February 1310¹ we find an official declaration that forty learned masters and doctors have heard his course of lectures, and have found them to be without error against the faith. On 2nd August of the same year we find a letter of Philip IV. to the university, stating that he had heard of opposition, and had submitted Lull's writings to many theologians. These reported that they were good for the faith, and the king therefore recommended him to all as a good Catholic.² Shortly after there is issued the public testimony of Francis Caraccioli, chancellor of the university, that Raymond Lull in a book submitted to him has nothing against good morals and theology.³ Evidently his opponents had carried the war

¹ *Chartularium*, vol. ii. p. 140.

² *Ibid.* vol. ii. p. 144.

³ *Ibid.* vol. ii. p. 148.

into the enemy's country and had obliged Lull to procure certificates of his own orthodoxy. We can need no more eloquent testimony to the strength of the movement. The assertion that men were not to apply reason to religion stirs his strongest opposition. In his tract *De Lamentatione Philosophiæ* he personifies Philosophy and makes her say: "Those ought not to be thought philosophers who dream of difference between Theology and Philosophy. I was never anything but the most devoted servant of Theology. I to be thought contrary to the most holy Faith! Oh me, most miserable! Where are the religious men of learning and devotion who will help me?" Lull, in the vehemence of his opposition, went so far as to assert that if the Christian faith is incapable of proof according to processes of mind, then it is impossible that it can be true. By unguarded utterances like this he opened the door for many an accusation of heresy hurled in after years over his tomb, and was the cause of much rhetoric and dialectic fury between Lullists and Inquisitors, Dominican or otherwise. The developments on both sides are eloquent of the unexpected directions into which the necessities of theological conflict are apt to force the disputants. Averroes begins by resenting the

application of glossing explanations to the words of revelation, and his followers give the impression of asserting that reason and faith are mutually inconsistent; Lull starts from the certainties of faith, and finally gives cause to his adversaries to assert that he reduces faith to a syllogism.

But it was a true insight which led Lull to fight the Averroism of the first decade of the fourteenth century. The attempt mentally to accept at the same time mutually incompatible things is the first step to the complete denial of the spiritual.

It was during one of his visits to Paris that Lull came into contact with another of the great figures of scholasticism. The record as found in the biographies presents some difficulties, as it seems to represent Lull's person as unknown. But it is quite possible that he may have not been known by sight to a particular doctor while already famous elsewhere. It is possible, though hardly likely, that the story is to be assigned to the commencement of the visit.¹

The famous and subtle Duns Scotus was at the time disputing in the university, and Lull

¹ Duns Scotus is supposed to have died in 1308. This date seems probable, but no definite record is discovered. A monument was raised to his memory in 1314.

attended the lectures. On one occasion Scotus heard a low murmur of dissent, and saw his hearer shaking his head. Annoyed at the interruption, and imagining that he saw before him some ignorant person, he sought to put him to public confusion by asking him an elementary question in grammar, *Dominus quæ pars?* "What part (of speech) is Lord?" Lull instantly answered, "The Lord is no part, but the whole." Thus began a typical scholastic debate, in which the combatants won each other's respect and, finally, friendship. The debate is embalmed in a tractate, whose title is the question with which the Subtle Doctor greeted the Illuminated.

The conflict with Averroism continued for some years. We have one or two indications of Lull's presence in Majorca in March and April 1310;¹ but even if these are not misleading, his visit there must have been brief, for in July 1310 he was back in Paris, instantly resuming his strenuous public disputations against his foes.

While Lull was thus eagerly fighting for the faith against heretics within, he had never lost sight of the main missionary aim of his life. A new opportunity was given him by the necessity

¹ He is stated to have finished his treatise *De Unitate et Essentia* at Montpellier in April 1310.

of a General Council, forced by the divided state of the Church. Clement v., elected to the papal chair as a Frenchman, had in A.D. 1309 weakly and self-indulgently moved the Papal Court to Avignon, and there found himself increasingly under the power of Philip, the King of France. The attempts of Boniface VIII. to secure the supremacy of the Spiritual over the Temporal Power had failed, and the failure had reacted, in the rapid wane of papal prestige. Clearly many things called for a Council. The place selected was Vienne, in French territory, not far from Avignon; and thither, in A.D. 1311, gathered the ecclesiastics most able to respond to the Pope's call. We have not now to do with the general aspects of the many-coloured gathering in the old Roman city. Our eyes are fixed on a single figure in the rough robe of a Franciscan penitent, long-bearded and bright-eyed, whose five-and-seventy years had failed to quench zeal or interest. Amidst the courtly prelates and ambitious diplomats who came to further or frustrate the interests of the French King or the Emperor, the old missionary excited at first only the same contemptuous or indulgent smiles as had greeted him at the Lateran or at Avignon. For several months the picturesque figure moved about amidst the shifting groups of the great

assembly. Everywhere he urged his original plan that the Holy Father should order the institution of colleges for the teaching of missionary languages. He added the scheme of which he had been so full for the last few years, namely, that the various orders of military knights should be welded into one for the ousting of the Saracens, first from their African, then from their Spanish, and finally from their Syrian, possessions, thus restoring the Holy Land to Christian keeping. He further implored the Council to declare that Averroist doctrines should no longer be taught in Christian schools. We find but little impression made by the latter two of his schemes. Averroism was still to grow as an intellectual force; and the servility of a Council gathered on French soil, indulging the rapacity of the French King, abolished the order of the Knights Templars. But Lull had the gratification of gaining the formal and public approval, by Pontiff and General Council, of his lifelong plan for the development of the study of missionary languages. The same idea had from time to time laid hold of the earnest missionary spirits of the Church. Half a century earlier (in 1250 A.D.) the Dominicans had assigned certain brethren to study Arabic for mission work among the Saracens. We

know the fact, though the site of this earliest school for the study is not known. Fifteen years later we find schools for Arabic in Murcia. The University of Seville was granted a "Studium Generale" for Latin and for Arabic; and, as in 1254 we find that this charter of privilege was the "same as that of Salamanca," it is to be gathered that a similar faculty had existed there. In 1260 Alexander v. issued a Bull recognising for three years this studium. But it is quite open to question whether the school ever existed except on paper.¹ We have seen how, in 1276, the King of Majorca had, at Lull's prompting, founded an Arabic school at Miramar, and that the Pope had recognised it. But the Franciscans, sent there to obtain this equipment for missionary work, soon tired and gave up. Subsequently the Dominicans took the place and work of their rivals at Miramar; but really nothing was done to give practical effect to the proposals till the Council of Vienne gave Lull his opportunity. By gathering into one place the representative authorities of Latin Christendom, it enabled him to focus on them the light and heat of his graphic appeal and animating enthusiasm. The Council ordained the appointment of masters

¹ Rashdall, *Medieval Universities*, vol. ii. p. 82.

ruling schools for Hebrew, Greek, Arabic, and Chaldee in the Roman Curia, Oxford, Bologna, Salamanca, and Paris.¹ These colleges were to be supported by the Pontiff, and the Prelates of the various kingdoms concerned, save in Paris, where the French King made himself responsible for maintenance.² It is difficult to trace how far this edict was translated into fact, but we may accept with some degree of confidence that the teaching of Hebrew in our English universities dates from this impulse. Here, in the initiation of Hebrew teaching in Oxford, at anyrate, we may find our one point of contact between Lull and the English nation, which was in the course of the centuries to become the greatest ruler of Moslems, and the greatest exponent of fervent missionary ideas in the world. Lull's aims, his interests, and his sanely enthusiastic way of looking at things have more kinship with the best side of English religious life than with any intervening expression of Christian faith.

¹ *Chartularium Univ. Paris*, ii. p. 154.

² Wadding, *Annales Minorum*, vi. p. 199.

CHAPTER IX.

CHARACTERISTIC UTTERANCES.

THE writings of Raymond Lull are so vastly voluminous that his biographer is in a strait betwixt two. To deal with every book, even by way of slight analysis and indication of general tenor, would smother any possible interest in the Life in the abundant ashes of the dead fires of the past. One biographer gives a list of four hundred and ten works, while another mentions more than four thousand, assigned to his reputed authorship. On the other hand, these works were the material for centuries of an enthusiastic Scholasticism : round them waged many a heated conflict, with thunderbolts of Inquisition-processes, condemnations, and papal Bulls—possibly even forged Bulls. To ignore them, then, would be to blind ourselves to a main part of the secret of Lull's influence on his age. To-day his works are covered with dust in the less accessible shelves of great

libraries, and they possess only an historical interest. But the reader, as he casts his eye over the multitudinous square yards of beautiful print in Salzinger's stately edition, or over the crabbed and tiny pages of mediæval pamphlets, experiences a thrill as he lights upon some passage in which the living, loving soul shines out of the forgotten years. It seems good to gather together here a few passages, as examples of many others, by which, when uttered in the lecture halls of universities in France or Italy, the eager Lull must have strangely moved with religious fervour the earnest students who listened to him.¹ The Middle Ages designated each of their doctors by some adjective, specially and admiringly characteristic. If Aquinas was Angelic, Bonaventura Seraphic, and Albertus Magnus Universal, the followers of Lull clung proudly to their doctor as "Illuminated." To them it was the illumination of reason which gave substance for pride; to the reader of to-day, it is the illumination of the enthusiasm of love characterising the life and the shining face that figures in the woodcuts prefacing his works.

¹ In several cases quotations in this chapter have been brought to my notice by references in Neander's *Ecclesiastical History*.

The perpetual joyousness of Lull's experience is everywhere manifest :—

“Honour and reverence be to Thee, O Lord God, who hast given so great grace to Thy servant that his heart swims in rejoicing and gladness as a fish swims in the sea ; and because delight and gladness come to him, O Lord, when he considers that Thou art in existence.”¹

“O, King of kings, lofty and noble Lord, when I think of eternal life and consider it, then, O Lord, am I full and covered with joy within and without, and am as full of joy as the sea is of water.”²

We are familiar with the characteristic strenuous assertion of the place of reason in the scheme of faith :—

“Elevate thy knowledge, and thy love will be elevated. Heaven is not so lofty as the love of a holy man. The more thou wilt labour to rise upward, the more thou wilt rise upward.”³

To Lull's ardent soul it was a perpetual wonder that it could be possible for those to be

¹ *The Contemplation of God*, i. 25.

² *Ibid.* ii. 25.

³ *Concerning the Hundred Names of God*.

lukewarm in the spread of the Gospel who had once seen the love of God:—

“O Lord, alone in the Divine Essence! Much do I wonder concerning men who are in the true way, how it can be that after they have received the gift of true life they do not attempt to help those who are outside the truth into the true way.”¹

“Daily I behold men who are in the truth die without admonishing and preaching to the infidels that they may come to the Truth; and although Catholics know the truth in which they are, and the error in which the infidels are, nevertheless they do not take care to show the Truth to the infidels, or only so little, as if they did not know their own truth nor the falsity of the thoughts of unbelievers.”²

But his views are thoroughly sane as to the right method of preaching Christianity. All his enthusiasm never develops into fanaticism. Practical godliness in ordinary life is of far more value than the disguised selfishness of barren monasticism or a self-satisfied crusade:—

“Often have I sought Thee on the Cross and

¹ *Contemplation of God*, xxv. 28.

² *Ibid.* xxv. 29.

my bodily eyes have not been able to find Thee, although they have found Thine image there and a representation of Thy death. And when I could not find Thee with my bodily eyes, I have sought Thee with the eye of my soul; and, thinking on Thee, my soul found Thee. And when it found Thee, my heart began immediately to warm with the glow of love, my eyes to weep, my mouth to praise Thee. How little profits it the pilgrims to roam through the world in quest of Thee, if when they have come back from their pilgrimage they return again to sin and folly.”¹

“He who would find Thee, O Lord, let him go forth to seek Thee in love, loyalty, devotion, faith, hope, justice, mercy, and truth; for in every place where these are, there art Thou.”²

“The image of the crucified Christ is found much rather in men who imitate Him in their daily walk than in the crucifix made of wood.”³

“Better is a life spent in instructing others than one spent in fasting.”⁴

“He who is just, compassionate, humble, patient, prays although he is not consciously thinking of God. Whatsoever such a person may do,—whether he eat or drink or sleep, buy

¹ *Contemplation of God*, I. cxiii.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.* II. cxxiii.

⁴ *Book of Proverbs*, li.

or sell, dig or plough,—he prays to God and praises God.”¹

Lull's whole-hearted consecration was all based on the devotion to a living personal Christ. With him Love is the spring of all action, the heart whose throbs mean life :—

“He who loves not, lives not. He who lives by the Life cannot die.”²

“He who bestows on his friend his love, gives more than treasures of gold.

“He who gives God can give nothing more.”³

“The spirit longs after nothing as it does after God. No gold is worth so much as a sigh of holy longing.”⁴

Notwithstanding his schemes for the forming of one great Order of Knighthood which should expel the Saracen from his whole empire, Lull is profoundly convinced that persuasion and peaceful methods are alone of real value for the infidel's conversion :—

“It is my belief, O Christ, that the conquest

¹ *Contemplation of God*, III. ccxv.

² *Book of Proverbs*, xvii.

³ *Concerning Hundred Names of God*, xxxi.

⁴ *Ibid.* xc.

of the Holy Land should be attempted in no other way than as Thou and Thy apostles undertook to accomplish it—by love, by prayer, by tears, and the offering up of our own lives. As it seems that the possession of the Holy Sepulchre and of the Holy Land can be better secured by the force of arms, therefore let the monks march forth as holy knights, glittering with the sign of the Cross, replenished with the grace of the Holy Spirit, and proclaim to the unbelievers the truth of Thy passion. Let them, from love to Thee, exhaust the whole fountain of their eyes, and pour out all the blood of their bodies, as Thou hast done from love to them.”¹

“Lord of Heaven, Father of all times, when Thou didst send Thy Son to take upon Him human nature, He and His apostles lived in outward peace with Jews, Pharisees, and other men: never by outward violence did they capture or slay any of the unbelievers, or those who persecuted them. This outward peace they used to bring the erring to the knowledge of the truth. So, after Thy example, should Christians conduct themselves towards the Saracens.”²

Notwithstanding, or perhaps because of, his

¹ *Contemplation of God*, cxii. 250. ² *Ibid.* cciv. 512.

firm exaltation of reason as not inconsistent with faith, we never find a trace of doubt in any of Lull's utterances. He applies his *Ars* with confidence to the mysteries of the Eucharist, and he rejoices in the profound miracle of transubstantiation as the sublimest self-humiliation of the Deity:—

“Has there ever been anything of wonder, or any humility, to compare with this—that bread and wine become Thy holy humanity which was united with Deity, and that Thy body, all noble as it is, permits itself to be eaten and handled by poor, sinful man?”¹

“O Lord, how great a punishment will they have who will be in Hell. For because they will know that Thy being will have no end, they will know that their punishment will last without end. Indeed, Lord, if it should happen that I should be there, it seems to me that if I could there love Thee, greater would be the glory which I should have of Thy eternity and goodness than the punishment which I should endure.”²

Lull's versatility of mind led him to adopt every scheme which could bring his enthusiasm

¹ Quoted by Neander.

² *Contemplation of God*, vii. 29.

to bear on all ranks and grades of thought. We have found him influencing the mind of educated Christendom by the lectures and scholastic methods of his *Ars*, and we have seen him using his knowledge of Arabic to reach the Mahometan. Any account of his work would be incomplete if it made no reference to the writings in his native Catalan dialect, whereby he influenced the streams of the great Provençal literature to which it was so closely akin, and ensured that his own fellow-countrymen outside the cloister and the school should receive the truth. The Moslem in Spain frequently understood the language of the land he had conquered; in many cases it had become the land of his adoption, and Arabic had been thrust into the background by the inevitable persistence of the speech of the soil. Thus we find that while Lull was preaching in Arabic to Moslems in Africa, Pedro Pasquál was preaching in Catalan to their fellow-believers in Granada. Lull himself produced a profound effect on the popular religious thought of his country by the multitude of his poems in the vernacular in which he poured forth his devotion. Among these works two stand out. One is a collection in which seven ecstatic hymns are written for each of the "Hours of the Virgin," punctuating the day

with devotion to her. The other is a rhythmical counterpart to one of his prose works, in which he presents us with a hundred poems on the names of God—an arrangement doubtless suggested by a similar method of Mahometan praise.

These poems are now accessible in their original form through the enthusiasm of Majorcan scholarship.¹ We may hope for other reproductions through the energy of the Lullist Society, now at work there, in which the Archduke Louis Salvator takes so great an interest. At present we know of other Catalan writings only through translations into Latin or modern Spanish.

Thus we have a Castilian translation, published in Majorca in 1750, of a *Book on the Miracles of Heaven and Earth*.² Lull here uses the picturesque narrative style which often introduces even his stiffer theological works. He presents before us a man who stands mournful

¹ *Obras Rimadas de Ramon Lull, escritas en idioma Catalan-Provençal* (Rossello, Palma 1859).

² *Helfferich*, p. 113. The note on the title page is:

“Libro Felix, o maravillas del mundo.

Compuesto en lengua Lemosina por el iluminado Doctor . . .

Raymondo Lulio y traducido en Español por un discípulo.” And an entry in the catalogue adds: “Sacado de un antiquissimo manuscrito que encontró, cotejado con otro dos, el uno que se halló en el colegio de la Sapiencia y el otro en la libreria de San Francisco de Assis de esta ciudad de Palma.”

and distressed that so few know, love, and honour God; and since he has a tenderly loved son named Felix, he therefore takes him through the world,—through forests and mountains, plains and deserts, villages and towns,—and shows him the wonders of God's making. It is remarkable to find at so early a date a reference to the magnetic needle, and to its use in navigation;¹ and in the light of the discussion on Lull's connection with Alchemy, it is significant to note his utterance in the section under Metals: "In the transformation of one metal into another we must have a transmutation of both substance and accidents; that is, that the form and the material should be transmuted, with all their accidents, into a new substance, composed of new forms, materials, and accidents. And such an operation cannot be artificially performed, since Nature has need of all her power to do it. In metals and in all elementary bodies the elements seek their perfection, which they cannot attain, although they constantly strive after it ever since the time when God created the world."

¹ A similar reference occurs in the *De Contemplatione* (A.D. 1272):—

"Sicut acus per naturam vertitur ad septentrionem dum sit tacta a magnete . . . sicut acus nautica dirigit marinarios in sua navigatione."

It is difficult to see, in the face of such a passage, how Lull can be adjudged as having had nothing to do with alchemy.¹

Nowhere do we find an utterance more characteristic of Lull than the great religious romance *Blanquerna*, in which he constantly reminds us, by anticipation, of Spenser's *Faerie Queene* and Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*.² In this work, half allegory, half romance, we have a sort of presentment of what Lull holds dear in life, his views of religion and the Church. The outline of the story is as follows:—

Evast—rich, well-born, well-educated—grows up and decides to marry. He leaves the choice of his wife to his relatives, making the condition

¹ Luanco (*Ramon Lull, Considerado como Alquemista* Barcelona 1870) removes from Lull's name many spurious chemical and alchemistic works, and quotes from Lull's *Liber de Novo Modo Demonstrandi*, bearing date 1312 (at Majorca): "Is alchemy a science? No. And thus I prove it . . ." The work appears successful in its main attempt, but we must not go so far as to remove Lull's name from among the list of the fathers of alchemy. An expression such as that just given, written in the last few months of his life, cannot override such evidence as the passage brought forward in the text. This proves conclusively that Lull wrote and thought much on alchemy, though he did not expect impossibilities from it.

² Helfferich, p. 114.

In the Escorial library the catalogue states that *Blanquerna* was written in Arabic, Latin, and Catalan.

that she shall be of gentle birth and, if possible, healthy and shapely. Aloma, daughter of a widow, becomes his spouse, and after long waiting Blanquerna¹ is born to them. The boy grows up under the training of a careful nurse, and on reaching manhood, to his father's joy, desires to become a hermit. Evast himself desires the same life, but is restrained by his wife, who represents that he may serve God also in the ordinary married state. Blanquerna falls in love with a lovely maiden, Doña Cana,² but refuses to give up his ideal celibacy. In the second book the father uses his wealth to endow a retreat, and Cana enters a cloister, while Blanquerna becomes a monk. Cana becomes abbess, and is a great power in training the intellect and soul of her nuns. Before Blanquerna enters his monastery and becomes similarly influential, he has to face a number of spiritual adventures, which remind us of those of Spenser's Red Cross Knight. In a great forest he comes to a Magic Castle, over whose door are engraved the Ten Commandments. In the great hall, all decked with ivory and gold, sit venerable figures, with flowing hair and beards, who impress the pilgrim with lofty utterances concerning the enticements

¹ Perhaps derived from the notion of washing white.

² Perhaps from the word *to sing*.

of the world and the duty of separation from it. Full of holy purpose, the young man goes forth to seek his hermitage. Multitudes of evil beasts meet him. Fear comes before him at their onset, but Fear yields to Hope and Courage, who remind him of God's might, while Love and Righteousness strengthen his heart. Two sisters, Faith and Truth, come weeping to him, lamenting their need, and asking his help against the Infidels. Piety comes all bathed in tears, and one after another the various Virtues expatiate to the listening youth. Through these trials and instructions Blanquerna becomes suitably equipped for his work in life. He enters his monastery, and ere long becomes abbot, devoting himself to the development of the worship of the Virgin. The cells in the monastery bear the names "Hail, Mary," "Blessed art Thou among women," and "The Lord is with thee."

Lull is of too practical a mind to allow that the cloister is the end of existence. He makes it but the preparation for the true activities which are to follow. A beautiful picture is drawn of the quiet monastic life, with its peaceful round of devotions, but ere long devotion must bear the practical fruit of missionary work. The third book introduces us to the whilom Abbot Blanquerna as bishop, then archbishop, and, after

a while, as Pope. But he is made Pope expressly on the understanding that the duty of the Church is to set itself to the conversion of the Jews and the Moors. Lull's fancy grows somewhat riotous when he introduces himself as Raymond the Fool, the licensed jester of the Papal Court. The freedom of utterance allowed to the Fool enables him, with no uncertain sound, to utter his views on life and Christian work. We could imagine ourselves in the Pilgrim's Progress or the Holy War as we meet among the Consistory Cardinals We-glorify-Thee, We-give-thanks-to-Thee, Oh-Lord-God-heavenly-King-Father-Almighty, and For-only-Thou-art-Holy.

But even the papal chair does not give all the opportunity to be desired by a missionary enthusiast. The last book sees Blanquerna laying down the tiara and retiring to a solitary cell of devotion in the mountains near Rome, where he expatiates on the beauty of a hermit life.

Such is the outline of this remarkable work. But for the obscurity of the language in which it was first written, it might have been one of the religious classics of the world.

When Lull set out on the great task of his life, after the first vision which smote him from his sins, he set before him, as the highest aim, ultimate martyrdom. As he grew older this

longing grew stronger. He had failed once at Genoa through fear, but he never quailed again ; indeed, he pours forth his soul in constant longings for this crown to his missionary life :—

“ If it were pleasing to Thee that Thy servant should go through the squares and streets and villages and towns proclaiming Thy truth and the falsity of the unjust, and should have no fear of hunger or thirst, nor of death, then would he know himself to be remembered in the pity of his God.”¹

“ Oh, long-suffering and pitiful Lord ! many a time have I trembled with fear and cold. When will the day and hour come when my body will tremble for the great warmth of love and ardent longing and delight in dying for its Creator and Saviour ?

“ Although, O God, I am unworthy of dying for Thee, nevertheless I do not give up the hope of obtaining this holy and precious death. For as Thou, O Lord, hast given life to Thy unworthy servant, which I have never deserved, so wilt Thou, if it please Thee, give this glorious death though I am utterly unworthy.”²

“ If perchance, O Lord, Thou deny to me

¹ *Contemplation of God*, xxv. 30.

² Quoted by Wadding, *Annales Minorum*, vol. vi. p. 230.

the death of a martyr, assuredly grant me, I pray, the grace of dying in weeping, lamenting and longing to die for Thy love, my Lord, my Creator, my Saviour.”¹

It was the passion of a lifetime which expresses itself in these fervent words. Long years of strenuous activity had blanched the missionary's head and slackened his footstep; but as the years drew near to the natural goal, Lull's ardour glowed the more, and his belief that, by imitating his Lord in laying down his life through violence, he would best be furthering the victory of the Faith, impelled him to renewed missionary activity in the lands of danger, whence he had more than once been banished. He was in his eightieth year when he started for his last missionary journey to North Africa.

¹ Quoted by Wadding, *Annales Minorum*, vol. vi. p. 230.

CHAPTER X.

MARTYRDOM.

THE record of Lull's life given by his anonymous contemporary ceases with the Council of Vienne (1311-1312). We are dependent for the story of his final journey and death upon the compilations of Charles Bovillus (Bouville) (1514) and Nicholas Pax (1519). Wadding also, the great chronicler of the Franciscans, appears to have had access to a large number of manuscripts, perhaps those collected in Rome with a view to Lull's canonisation. The intervention of a couple of centuries prevents us from giving quite the same credence to his details of the few remaining years. But the main outline is so simple and so universally accepted, that there is no need to hesitate as to its substantial accuracy.

Lull himself tells us that he had been eight times to the Pope; that he had exhorted three general Chapters of the Preachers (Dominicans) and three of the Minors (Franciscans); that he had been to almost all Christian Kings and Magnates, to stir them up to a mighty effort to plant the Cross in the lands where waved the Crescent flag. Occasionally he was cheered by gleams of prosperity, as when his own monarch expressed his willingness to expend the whole resources of Majorca in the sacred war. But his only approach to a general success was when the Council of Vienne gave its formal sanction to his idea of professorships in the missionary languages. After his return from the Council we have one more shadowy glimpse of him at Paris, and then, late in 1312, he is found in his native island. He had long passed the limit of the three score years and ten, but his zeal was unabated. He occupied himself with continual missionary labours; but with the swiftly-passing years, as we have already seen, his ardent love for Christ turned itself more and more towards that desire for martyrdom which had been the final goal of his early vow. Nicholas Pax, one of his biographers, evidently feels that it somewhat detracts from the character of his hero that he had twice allowed himself to be banished

from the sphere of his missionary labours. "We must believe," he says, "that this holy man twice yielded to the fury of his persecutors, not through fear of death, but by the counsel of God, that he might yet more confirm the hearts of the worshippers of Christ. But afterwards, fearing that he might miss the longed-for prize of martyrdom, he finally departed for Africa." Our own age has its standards of sense and utility, and rightly appraises highly prudence, that there may be long life and service for Christ. It is well, however, to consider sometimes whether our sanctified common sense may not have too much calculation in it. It is well to remember the lesson of the splendid prodigality of love which broke the alabaster box and poured forth the precious ointment on the Saviour's feet. And, whatever prudence may say, the heart warms towards the old man who, in his eightieth year, went forth with joy to express his love to God and men in one last appeal to Africa, now Mahometan, once almost Christian.

In October 1313 he was in Messina, as we judge from a booklet, *De Substantia et Accidente*, in proof of the Trinity; and another publication is dated from the same place in May 1314. Thence, for the last time, he returned to his

native island.¹ He made his last preparations for the final mission which was to end in martyrdom. It was as if Elijah was going forth on the last journey whence the chariot of fire was to take him home, while Elisha strained his eyes to follow him. His friends of the Franciscan Order accompanied him to the ship, and the State Archives of Majorca record the names of those who had the proud distinction of watching him depart on 14th August 1314. Ere long he landed in Tunis, and cautiously called to him his old friends, converted through his words upon his former visits, building them up in the Faith. Thence he departed for Bugia, and concealed himself among the Christian merchants. Here, too, he found the fruits of past labour, and for some time contented himself with secretly preaching to and strengthening the converts of past days. A few months passed away in such secluded work. But the burning soul could not thus hide itself. The longing for martyrdom burst forth into flame, and Lull came forth into the open squares, publicly preaching the truth of

¹ The process for canonisation seems in doubt whether the books in Messina were not written after he had left Majorca for the last time, but the evidence of the dates appears sufficient to establish the order of the text.

Christianity and the falsity of Islam. An eager and excited crowd gathered round him; then he boldly proclaimed himself the same man who, many years before, had been banished under pain of death. He solemnly appealed to the Last Judgment as his justification, and summoned them to meet him there. The infuriated throng haled him to the King's palace. At the royal command they dragged him without the city to the shore, and speedily stoned and battered him to death. So died, in the year 1315, on June 30th,—which, fittingly enough, is the Feast of St. Peter and St. Paul,—the greatest of the mediæval missionaries, consecrating with his blood the shores of Africa.

His pious biographers tell how, the next night, a Genoese vessel was passing the mouth of the harbour when from afar its sailors saw a great pyramid of light; this, when they landed, they found to proceed from a heap of stones, underneath which lay the still palpitating body of the martyr. They obtained leave to carry the body away, and tenderly placed it on board, giving every possible attention, and setting the ship's course for Majorca. Some record a momentary recovery, during which the dying saint, who had once been the lustful man of pleasure, bore his witness to the praise of Him

who saved the Magdalen. But before the ship could make its harbour the great soul was breathed forth, and from the restless waves of the sea of life Lull went home to the Peace of God. He had gained the martyr's crown.

Legend is busy yet further with marvels. The shipmen meant to pass Majorca by, in order to carry the sacred relics to Genoa; they were forced by weather to enter the harbour. Sails were set to escape undiscovered, but invisible forces kept the vessel motionless, till the notables of Palma came aboard and carried the body, amidst weeping multitudes, first to the family chapel in St. Eulalia's, and afterwards to a side chapel of the great Franciscan Church. Miracles of healing have attended the sacred shrine. In 1611 the body was exhumed, sword-cuts and stone-wounds being still traceable all over head and body, and to-day the holy remains are the chief treasure of Palma Cathedral, while Lull has become practically the patron saint of his native island.

When the story is shorn of the inevitable accompaniment of prodigy, we still have left a moving picture of the home-coming of the hero's body. Nearly a year earlier they had escorted the missionary to his ship, "sorrowing

sore for this word, that they should see his face no more." In those days of uncertain and infrequent passage, information in the interval must have been rare and vague; hence, when the ship bearing its precious burden entered the roads, the news would spread on the wings of the wind through the excitable Southern town. Religious enthusiasm blazed high at the honour done by the martyr to his nation. Even worldliness, which resisted the saint's appeals and kept its own sinful pleasures, unhesitatingly believed in the reality behind the appeals. Enthusiasm for the Christ mingled strangely with hatred of the murderous Moslem, and a military note was infused into the Gregorian chants of the funeral procession. It was typical of the religion of the age: an exaltation that seemed to see the heavens opened and a veritable crown of glory on the martyr's head, along with a fierceness that found vent in the imprecatory psalms. From that funeral many a Franciscan went home fired with missionary ardour and thirsting for martyrdom. The memory of those eighty years of life, fifty of them one long burning sacrifice, was in all men's minds. But the words of the dead missionary were ringing in men's ears, and the lessons of his life could not be lost. The fierce-

ness of crusading wrath died away, for the
message of his life had been

He who loves not, lives not ;

and Love was to be the final weapon where the
sword would fail.

CHAPTER XI.

LULL'S PLACE IN THE WORLD.

THE story of Lull's life is now complete. It is unprofitable to enter into the long jangle of conflicting verdicts on his orthodoxy.¹ Majorcan patriotism and Franciscan denominationalism rose in arms to defend, while Dominican Inquisitors accused. The cult of the missionary hero and martyr rapidly assumed great proportions, and the scholars of his logical system multiplied, sunning themselves in his moral glory.

Ere long Eymeric, Inquisitor - General in Aragon (1320-1399) found many errors in Lull's writings. He formulated five hundred charges, and singled out for attack such theses as the following :—

“That one can prove by natural reasons all the articles of the Faith.

¹ The record is summarised in Pelayo, *Heterodoxos Españoles*, vol. i. pp. 516-530.

“That Jews and Saracens who believe in all good faith, and do not sin mortally, can be saved.

“That true Charity consists in loving God because he is God, and that it is false love which moves through hope of Paradise or temporal welfare.”

He also accused him of diabolical arts and magic, and someone who joined in the fray quoted a condemnatory Bull by Pope Gregory XI., dated 1371.

In 1391 the Lullists successfully rebutted the charges of Eymeric, and the Councillors of Barcelona accused the accuser of “diverse and enormous crimes.” It was asserted in 1391 that Gregory’s Bull was a forgery; it is practically impossible to prove or disprove this now. Most probably we shall reach the truth by a combination of evidence and explanation. The Franciscans are urgent in asserting the impossibility of real wicked error, inasmuch as they are able to quote Lull’s constant earnest submission of all he wrote to the judgment of the Church. In an age when to unorthodoxy were attached all manner of pains, temporal and spiritual, it became the safe fashion of all thinkers and writers to insure themselves against disaster by this general submission. We have

an instance even of a Pope making this disclaimer.¹ Such disclaimers will have little weight to readers of our own day, who are much more interested in the opinions of a thoughtful man than in the question whether they are orthodox. Wadding quotes from Francis Pena a statement concerning another Raymond known as the Neophyte, who had been a Jewish rabbi, and became a false convert to the Faith. He brought with him his Eastern superstitions, and published volumes on the *Invocation of Demons*, etc. These books it was which were condemned to be publicly burned by Gregory's Bull, and the mistake was either wilfully or accidentally made by Eymeric and his friends, so that Raymond Lull got the discredit of the condemnation. We cannot, however, accept the arguments of Mut and Wadding, trying, for the credit of his orthodoxy, to remove from the shoulders of their hero the odium of *all* books of alchemy, and to assign them to the impious Raymond the Neophyte. Suffice it to say that Benedict XIII. issued an opinion in Lull's favour, Lullist Schools continued to be formed in the universities until the seventeenth century, and that the honours

¹ See an article by H. B. Workman in the *London Quarterly Review* of January 1903 on the papal heresy of the Deferred Beatific Vision.

of Beatification have been awarded him. Majorca is full of his fame. He is the patron and namesaint of his university. In its Cathedral the Virgin Mary has two attendant figures—on the one side St. Francis of Assisi, on the other Raymond Lull. Images of him have rays around the head, and altar-pieces have pictures of the scenes of his missionary labours and martyrdom, while above, angels are represented as carrying his soul to heaven. Clearly Lull has come into his own with his fellow-countrymen, and we rejoice that the prophet has honour in his own land.

To us it remains to sum up the traits of noble manhood and Divine love which make this figure start out of the canvas of the Middle Ages with such wondrous beauty. Again and again are we reminded of the experiences of the individual saints famous in the history of the Church. When we behold the vices of Lull's early years, and then watch the man of strong passions curbed by the stronger Saviour, memory takes us back to the Confessions of that St. Augustine who ruled as bishop where Lull died as missionary. Lull's sudden vision of the Crucified, and acceptance of His mastership, take us in imagination to the gate of Damascus and the blinded Apostle Paul crying, "Lord, what wouldst Thou have me

to do?" Francis of Assisi seems to stand before us as we watch Lull going forth in coarsest garments to his life of sacrifice. His unwearying toil in the Grotto of Mount Randa breathes the same patience as did Jerome's years of study in the cave near Bethlehem. The burning missionary zeal of Xavier in the Roman, and of Martyn in the Protestant, Church had found their prototype centuries before in Lull's endless voyages and labours. When Livingstone fearlessly journeyed ever onward, to bring new realms within the sound of the Gospel, he did but follow Lull's example; and when we read of the bringing home of the nineteenth-century missionary's body from his far-off death, to be reverently buried in the great church of his country's capital, we go back in imagination to the martyr's funeral in Palma. The honour given by Lull to God as the God of reason, the God of man's mind, was a foreshadowing of that consecration of intellect which, out of the Renaissance, developed the Reformation. Such consecration, too, it is which is now bringing the spoils of the science of the West as an offering to the foot of the Cross for the Christianising of the earth. It will ever be so. The spiritual heroes of the world are composites of the noblest qualities of the different ages through which the

race has passed. To them is often given to gain from the mountain-tops views of broad distances of far-reaching love, while still their fellows are in the shadows of the valleys; of boundless horizons of moral conquest and the triumph of Truth, while still their age is cramped within the barred gates of set formulas.

The spirit of Raymond Lull is glowing in the heart of many a Christian missionary and convert in Moslem lands to-day. Still under the Caliph's sway it is death for any Mahometan to become a Christian; and still the missionary in those lands teaches those who, risking death, draw near the Cross, the truth that Lull sang with glowing face and flashing eye—

“He who lives by the Life cannot die.”

CHAPTER XII.

CHRONOLOGICAL SUMMARY OF RAYMOND LULL'S LIFE.

A. D.

- 1235 . . . Born at Palma.
- 1266 . . . Conversion and renunciation of
the world.
- 1266–1275 . Study and preparation.
- 1276 . . . Founded Missionary College at
Miramar.
- 1287 . . . Went to Rome. Found Honorius
just dead.
Went to Paris; lectured on his *Ars*.
- 1289 . . . Returned to Majorca.
- 1291 . . . To Genoa.
? again to Rome.
After illness and delay landed
in Tunis.
- Sept. 1292. . Began *Tabula Generalis* in Tunis
harbour.
- 1293–94 . . At Naples — finished *Tabula
Generalis*.
Wrote *Disputation of Five Wise
Men*.

A. D.

- July 5, 1294 . Celestine v. elected Pope.
 1294 . . . At Rome. Wrote *De Anima Rationali*.
 1296 . . . Wrote *Apostrophe to the Pope* (Boniface VIII.) on his schemes.
 1296 . . . At Genoa.
 End of 1297 . Went to Montpelier and to Paris.
 1298 . . . In Paris, lecturing and writing.
 July 1299 . . „ published *Quæstiones Magistri Thomæ*.
 Feb. 1300 . . Genoa — finished *Short Ars Generalis*.
 1300 . . . Montpelier—tract on preaching.
 1300 . . . Majorca—converted many Saracens.
 1300 . . . In Cyprus.
 Jan. 1301 . . In Armenia.
 Dec. 1301 . . In Famagusta, Cyprus.
 1302 . . . In Cyprus.
 Feb. and May Published books in Genoa.
 1303
 About June To Paris.
 1303
 Oct. 1303 . . Finished in Paris *Disputation of Faith and Understanding*.
 March 1304 . At Montpelier—published books.

A. D.

- April 1305 . Montpelier—finished *De Fine*.
 Latter half of 1305 . Doubtful visit to London, petition to Pope Clement v., and return to Majorca.
- Nov. 1305 . Accession of Clement v.
 1306 . . . Missionary visit to Bugia in Africa.
- End of 1306 . Wrecked near Pisa.
- Jan. 1307 . . At Pisa—finished *Ars Brevis*.
 Also at Montpelier — finished *Ars Utriusque Juris*.
- 1307 . . . Got support from the City Council at Pisa for the unifying of the Military Orders.
- March–April 1308 . At Pisa—published works.
- Summer 1308. In Genoa—got support for similar schemes.
 In Montpelier—published *De Experientia Artis Generalis*.
 In Avignon—failed with the Pope.
- Winter 1308. To Paris.
- Feb. 1309 . . In Paris — finished book on Physics.
- Feb. 10, 1310. Works approved by a Paris University Committee.
- March 1310 . Left Paris.

A. D.

- April 1310 . In Montpelier—finished *De Unitate et Essentia*.
- July 1310 . Again in Paris.
- Aug. 2, 1310 . Letter of Philip IV. to university commending Lull as a good Catholic.
- Aug. 1311 . In Paris—published *Dominus quæ pars?*
- 1311 . . . At Council of Vienne.
- 1312 . . . Statute of Council of Vienne founding schools in missionary languages.
- (? March 1312. In Paris—published *De Efficiente*.)
- 1312 . . . To Majorca.
- 1314 . . . Left Majorca on last missionary journey.
- May 1314 . . Published a book at Messina.
- June 30, 1315. Martyred at Bugia.

XIII.

APPENDIX.

THE accompanying catalogue of Lull's works is formed from those given in Salzinger's edition. For convenience of reference the titles in their original Latin form are arranged alphabetically, and the probable date and place are assigned. The first list, comprising 205 works, concerns "Speculative Science—that is, of understanding Theology, Philosophy, Law, Medicine, etc." In the second list, containing 77 works, are placed the titles of "Practical Arts and Sciences—that is, the art of working in Medicine, Alchemy, etc." The works of the first list may be taken as certainly genuine; those of the second are assigned more or less doubtfully to Lull's name. In a third list are named some works referred to elsewhere, but lost. The industry of Perroquet has brought together a list of 488 books, and he states that several authors of weight assign no less than 4000 to his pen.

CATALOGUE OF THE WORKS OF RAYMOND LULL.

LIST I.

No.	TITLE.	PLACE.	YEAR.	MONTH.
A				
1	Liber de Acquisitione Terræ Sanctæ	Montpelier	1309	March
2	Liber de Actu Majori	Messina	1313	Oct.
3	Liber de Actibus propriis & communibus divinarum Dignitatum . . . . .	...	...	...
4	Liber de Affatu, <i>b. e.</i> sexto Sensu	Naples	1294	Easter
5	Liber de Affirmatione & Negatione	Messina	1313	Feb.
6	Liber de Amico & Amato . . . . .	...	...	...
7	Liber de Angelis . . . . .	...	...	...
8	Liber de Anima	Rome	1294	
9	Liber contra Anti-Christum . . . . .	...	...	...
10	Liber Apostrophe, <i>sive</i> de Articulis Fidei	Rome	1296	June
11	Applicatio Artis Generalis ad varias Scientias	Majorca	1300	March
12	Arbor Philosophiæ Amoris	Paris	1298	Oct.
13	Arbor Philosophiæ desideratæ . . . . .	...	...	...
14	Arbor Scientiæ	Rome	1295	April
15	Ars Amativa Boni . . . . .	...	1290	August
16	Ars brevis, quæ est de Inventione Mediorum Juris Civilis	Montpelier	1307	Jan.
17	Ars brevis Prædicationis	Majorca	1312	Feb.
18	Ars brevis, quæ est Imago Artis Generalis	Pisa	1307	Jan.

No.	TITLE.	PLACE.	YEAR.	MONTH.
C				
42	Cantus Raymundi vernaculis Versibus	Paris	1299	...
43	Liber Chaos . . . . .	...	...	...
44	Liber Clericorum	Pisa	1308	...
45	Liber de Cognitione DEI	Majorca	1300	Oct.
46	Compendium seu Commentum Artis Demonstrativæ . . . . .	...	...	...
47	Compendium Logicæ Algazelis .	Montpelier	...	...
48	Liber Conceptionis Virginalis .	Avignon	...	...
49	Liber de Concordantia & Con- trarietate	Messina	1313	Dec.
50	Liber de Confessione . . . . .	...	...	...
51	Liber, qui continet Confes- sionem	Majorca	1302	Sept.
52	Liber Consilii	Majorca	...	...
53	Liber de Consilio	Montpelier	1303	March
54	Consolatio Eremitæ	Messina	1313	Aug.
55	Primum Volumen Contempla- tionum . . . . .	...	...	...
56	Secundum Volumen Contempla- tionum . . . . .	...	...	...
57	Tertium Volumen Contempla- tionum . . . . .	...	...	...
58	Liber de Decem Modis contem- plandi DEUM, <i>aliter</i> Con- templatio Raymundi . . . . .	...	...	...
59	Quomodo Contemplatio transeat in Raptum . . . . .	...	...	...
60	Liber Contradictionis	Paris	1310	Feb.
61	Liber de Convenientia, quam habent Fides & Intellectus in objecto	Montpelier	1304	March
62	Liber de Conversione sui ad Pœnitentiam, seu Vita Ray- mundi . . . . .	...	...	...
63	De Conversione Subjecti & Præ- dicati per Medium	Paris	1310	July

No.	TITLE.	PLACE.	YEAR.	MONTH.
64	Liber Correlativorum inna- torum	Paris	1310	Feb.
65	Liber de Creatione	Messina	1313	...
66	Liber de iis, quæ homo de Deo debet credere . . . . .	...	1301	...
D				
67	Declaratio Raymundi per mo- dum Dialogi edita contra ali- quorum Philosophorum & eorum sequacium opiniones erroneas & damnatas ab Epis- copo Parisiensi	Paris	1297	...
68	Liber Demonstrationum, qui est una Brancha Artis Com- pendiosæinveniendi Veritatem	...	...	...
69	Liber de Demonstratione per Æquiparantiam	Paris	1310	...
70	Liber de Vita DEI	Messina	1303	Feb.
71	Liber de DEO & JESU Christo .	...	...	...
72	Liber de DEO & Mundo	Tunis	1315	Dec.
73	Liber de DEO majore & DEO minore	Messina	1313	Jan.
74	Liber de DEO ignoto & Mundo ignoto	Paris	1311	June
	Liber de iis, quæ homo de DEO debet credere. <i>Vide C.</i> . . .			
75	Liber de Desolatione . . . . .	...	1285	...
76	Dictatum Raymundi de Trini- tate . . . . .	...	...	...
77	Liber Differentiæ Correlati- vorum divinarum Dignitatum	Majorca	1312	July
78	Disputatio seu Liber de Quin- que Sapientibus	Naples	1294	...
79	Disputatio Raymundi Christiani & Hamar Saraceni	Pisa	1308	April
80	Disputatio Petri & Raymundi Phantastici . . . . .	...	1311	...

No.	TITLE.	PLACE.	YEAR.	MONTH.
81	Disputatio Raymundi & Averroistæ . . . . .	...	...	...
82	Disputatio Raymundi & Eremitæ super aliquibus dubiis Quæstionibus Sententiarum Magistri Petri Lombardi .	Paris	1298	Aug.
83	Disputatio Fidelis & Infidelis .	...	...	...
84	Disputatio Fidei & Intellectus .	Montpelier	1303	Oct.
85	Liber de Doctrina puerili .	...	...	...
86	Liber de septem Donis Sancti Spiritus . . . . .	...	...	...
E				
87	Liber de Efficiente & Effectu .	Paris	1310	May
88	Liber de Ente Infinito . . .	Paris	1309	Feb.
89	Liber de Ente Reali & Rationis.	Avignon	1311	Dec.
90	Liber de Ente simpliciter absoluto	Vienne	1312	March
91	Liber de Ente simpliciter per se & propter se existente & agente	Paris	1311	Sept.
92	Liber de Erroribus Judæorum .	...	...	...
93	Liber de Esse Infinito . . .	Messina	1313	Nov.
94	Liber de Esse Perfecto . . .	Messina	1313	March
95	Liber de Essentia & Esse DEI .	Messina	1313	Dec.
96	Liber de Est DEI	Majorca	1300	Sept.
97	Liber de Existentia & Agentia DEI	Paris	1311	Aug.
98	Tractatus de Experientia Realitatis ipsius Artis Generalis. Epistola Raymundi ad Christianum adjungenda huic Libro	Montpelier	1308	Nov.
F				
99	Liber de novis Fallaciis . . .	Montpelier	1308	Oct.
100	Liber de Fallaciis, quas non credunt facere aliqui, qui credunt esse Philosophantes, contra purissimum Actum Dei verissimum & perfectissimum	...	...	...

No.	TITLE.	PLACE.	YEAR.	MONTH.
101	Liber Felix, seu de Mirabilibus Mundi . . . . .	...	...	...
102	Liber de Figura Elementalī . . . . .	...	...	...
103	Liber de Fine	Montpelier	1305	April
104	Liber de majori Fine	Messina	1313	Feb.
105	Liber de majori Fine Intellectus, Amoris & Honoris	Tunis	1315	Dec.
106	Flores Amoris & Intelligentiæ	Naples	1294	...
107	Fons Paradisi divinalis . . . . .	...	...	...
108	Liber de Forma DEI	Paris	1311	July
G				
109	Liber de Gentili & tribus Sapien- tibus . . . . .	...	...	...
110	Geometria nova	Paris	1299	July
111	Liber de Gradibus Conscientiæ . . . . .	...	...	...
H				
112	Liber de Homine	Majorca	1300	Nov.
I				
113	Liber de Intellectu	Montpelier	1303	Feb.
114	Liber de Intelligere DEI	Messina	1313	Jan.
115	Liber de Intentione prima & secunda . . . . .	...	...	...
116	Introductoria Artis Demonstra- tivæ . . . . .	...	...	...
117	Introductorium magnæ Artis Generalis	Montpelier	1305	March
118	Investigatio Generalium Mix- tionum . . . . .	...	...	...
119	Liber de Investigatione Actuum divinarum Rationum	Montpelier	1304	April
120	Liber de Inventionē divina	Messina	1313	Nov.
121	Liber de Justitia DEI	Messina	1313	Feb.

No.	TITLE.	PLACE.	YEAR.	MONTH.
L				
122	Liber Lamentationis Philosophiæ; <i>etiam intitulatur</i> Duodecim Principia, quæ & Lamentatio <i>seu</i> Expostulatio Philosophiæ contra Averroistas & Physica Raymundi dici possunt	Paris	1310	Feb.
123	Liber de Laudibus Beatissimæ Virginis Mariæ . . . . .	...	...	...
124	Lectura Artis, quæ intitulatur brevis Practica Tabulæ Generalis	Genoa	1303	Feb.
125	Lectura super Figuras Artis Demonstrativæ . . . . .	...	...	...
126	Lectura Compendiosa Tabulæ Generalis . . . . .	...	...	...
127	Lectura super Artem Inventivam & Tabulam Generalem . . . . .	...	...	...
128	Liber de Levitate & ponderositate Elementarum . . . . .	...	...	...
129	Liber, quæ Lex sit melior.	Majorca	1312	Feb.
130	Liber de Loço Minori ad Majorem	Messina	1313	Nov.
131	Liber de Locutione Angelorum	Montpelier	1312	May
132	Logica nova	Genoa	1303	...
133	Tractatus de Lumine	Montpelier	1303	Nov.
M				
134	Liber de Medio naturali	Messina	1313	Oct.
135	Liber ad Memoriam confirmandam	Pisa	...	...
136	Liber de Memoria DEI	Messina	1313	March
137	Metaphysica nova	Paris	1309	Jan.
	Liber de Mirabilibus Mundi. <i>Vide Felix.</i>			

No.	TITLE.	PLACE.	YEAR.	MONTH.
138	Liber de novo Modo demon- strandi	Majorca	1312	Sept.
139	Liber de naturali Modo intelli- gendi	Paris	1310	May
140	Liber de decem Modis con- templandi DEUM . . . . .	...	...	...
141	Liber de Modo applicandi novam Logicam ad Scientiam Juris & Medicinæ . . . . .	...	...	...
142	Liber de Multiplicatione, quæ sit in Essentia DEI per divinam Trinitatem	Messina	1314	April
N				
143	Liber de Natali parvuli Pueri JESU	Paris	1310	Dec.
144	Liber de Natura	Famagusta	1301	...
145	Liber de Natura divina	Messina	1313	Dec.
146	Liber de centum Nominibus DEI . . . . .	...	...	...
O				
147	Liber de Objecto finito & infinito .	Messina	1313	March
148	Liber de Operibus Misericordiæ .	Majorca	1312	Feb.
149	Liber de Oratione . . . . .	...	1300	July
150	Liber de tredecim Orationibus .	Barcelona	1298	...
151	Liber de Orationibus & Con- templationibus . . . . .	...	...	...
P				
152	Liber de Participatione Christian- orum & Saracenorum	Majorca	1312	July
153	Liber de Pater noster	Majorca	1312	Oct.
154	Liber de Perseitate DEI	Messina	1314	April
155	Petitio Raymundi pro Con- versione Infidelium . . . . .	...	...	...

No.	TITLE.	PLACE.	YEAR.	MONTH.
156	Petitio Raymundi in Concilio generali ad acquirendam Terram sanctam . . . . .	...	...	...
157	Liber de Perversione Entis removenda	Paris	1309	Dec.
158	Liber novus Physicorum & compendiosus	Paris	1309	Feb.
159	Liber de Possibili & Impossibili	Paris	1310	Oct.
160	Liber de Potestate pura	Messina	1313	Jan.
161	Liber de Potestate infinita & ordinata	Messina	1313	Nov.
162	Liber de Prædestinatione & Libero Arbitrio . . . . .	...	...	...
163	Liber de Prædestatione & Præscientia . . . . .	...	1310	April
164	Liber de quinque Prædicabilibus & decem Prædicamentis	Messina	1313	Dec.
165	Liber de quinque Principiis, quæ sunt in omni eo, quod est	Majorca	1312	August
166	Liber Principiorum Juris . . . . .	...	...	...
167	Liber Principiorum Medicinæ . . . . .	...	...	...
168	Liber Principiorum Philosophiæ . . . . .	...	...	...
169	Liber Principiorum Theologiæ . . . . .	...	...	...
170	Principia Philosophiæ complexa	Majorca	1300	...
171	Liber Proverbiorum	Rome	...	...
172	Liber Propositionum secundum Artem Demonstrativam . . . . .	...	...	...
Q				
173	Liber de Quadratura & Triangulatura Circuli	Paris	1299	July
174	Liber de Quæstione valde alta & profunda	Paris	1311	August
175	Quæstio: Utrum illud, quod est congruum in Divinis, possit reduci ad necessariam Rationem? . . . . .	...	...	...

No.	TITLE.	PLACE.	YEAR.	MONTH.
176	Quæstiones, quas quæsitit quidam Frater à Raymundo .	...	...	...
177	Quæstiones Magistri Thomæ Attrebatensis	Paris	1299	July
178	Quæstiones per Artem Demonstrativam seu Inventivam solubiles . . . .	...	...	...
179	Quæstiones supra Librum facilis Scientiæ	Paris	...	...
180	Liber super Psalmum : Quicunque vult . . . .	...	...	...
R				
181	Liber de Regionibus Sanitatis & Infirmis	Montpelier	1300	Dec.
182	Regulæ Introductorie ad Practicam Artis Demonstrativæ .	...	...	...
183	Liber Reprobationis aliquorum Errorum Averrois . . . .	...	...	..
184	Rhetorica nova	Cyprus	1301	...
S				
185	Liber de septem Sacramentis Ecclesiæ	Majorca	1312	Oct.
186	Liber de divina Sanctitate . Disputatio seu Liber de quinque Sapientibus. <i>Vide D.</i>	Messina	1313	Nov.
187	Liber facilis Scientiæ . . .	Paris	1311	June
188	Liber de Perfecta Scientia .	Messina	1313	Nov.
189	Liber de Sermonibus factis de decem Præceptis	Majorca	1302	Oct.
190	Sermones contra Errores Averrois	Paris	1311	April
191	Liber de centum signis DEI .	Pisa	1308	May
192	Liber de Sancto Spiritu . .	...	...	...

No.	TITLE.	PLACE.	YEAR.	MONTH.
193	Supplicatio Raymundi sacre Theologiæ Professoribus ac Baccalaureis studii Parisi- ensis	Paris	1310	...
194	Liber de Syllogismis contradic- tionis . . . . .	...	1310	Jan.
T				
195	Tabula Generalis ad omnes Scientias applicabilis	Naples	1292	Sept.
196	Liber de Trinitate in Unitate permansivè in Essentia DEI .	Montpelier	1300	April
197	Liber de Trinitate & Incarna- tione	Majorca	1302 1312	Sept. "
198	Liber de Trinitate Trinissima .	Messina	1313	Nov.
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199	Liber de Venatione Substantiæ & Accidentis
200	Liber de Venatione Trinitatis per Substantiam & Accidens .	Messina	1313	Oct.
201	Versus Vulgares ad Regem Balearium . . . . .	...	...	...
202	Liber de Virtutibus & Peccatis .	Majorca	1310	Jan.
203	Liber de Virtute veniali & vitali: insuper de Peccato veniali & mortali	Majorca	1313	April
	Liber de Vita DEI. <i>Vide D.</i>			
204	Liber de Unitate & Pluralitate divina . . . . .	...	...	...
205	Liber de Voluntate DEI infinita & ordinata	Paris	1310	March
	" " " "	Majorca	1312	Jan.

LIST II.

A

1. Liber Angelorum Testamenti Experimentorum.
2. Liber Angelorum de Conversatione Vitæ humanæ et de Quinta Essentia.
3. Angelorum Testamentum Secretum Artis cœlestis de Lapide minerali magno.
4. Anima artis transmutatoriæ.
5. Apertorium Animæ et Clavis totius Scientiæ occultæ in omni Transmutatione Metallorum ac Transmutatione Lapidum et pro restituenda Salute Corporis humani.
6. Apertorium (*begins* Sapientes nostri asserunt).
7. Tractatus de Aquis super Epistola accuratoria ad regem Robertum.
8. Apertorium (*begins* Fili duæ sunt aquæ extractæ).
9. Tractatus de Septem Aquis ad Componendum omnes Lapides pretiosos.

10. Ars Intellectiva.
11. Ars Operativa Medica.
12. Liber Artis Compendiosæ, qui Vade mecum nuncupatur.
13. Liber tertius super Artem Alchimie quintarum Essentiarum, qui dicitur tertia Distinctio quæ est de Cura Corporum.
14. Liber ad faciendum Aurum potabile.

C

15. Liber de Calcinatione Solis.
16. Clavicula secreta, *or* Clavis Aurea de Transmutatione Metallorum.
17. Magna Clavis, *or* Magnum Apertorium.
18. Codicillus, *or* Vade Mecum.
19. Commentum super Lapidem Philosophorum.
20. Compendium de Secretis Medicinis.
21. Compendium de Secreta Transmutatione Metallorum, *or* Parva Magia.
22. Compendium Quintæ Essentiæ.
23. Conclusio Summaria ad intelligendum Testamentum et Codicillum.
24. Liber de Conservatione Vitæ.
25. Summaria Consideratio Lapidis et ejus Abbreviationis Libellus.
26. Tractatus de Creatione Mercuriorum ad faciendam Tincturam rubeam.

D

27. Tertia Distinctio Quinta-Essentiæ, quæ est
de Cura Corporum.
28. Liber Divinitatis.

E

29. Elucidatio Testamenti.
30. Enumeratio specierum cum quibus potest
jungi nostrum Cœlum sive Aqua
ardens.
31. Epistola accurtatoria de Regem Robertum.
32. Experimenta.
33. Liber de viginti quatuor Experimentis totius
naturæ creatæ.

F

34. Fons Scientiæ Divinæ Philosophiæ.
35. Practica de Furnis, *or* Liber Patientiæ.

H

36. Historia quando Raymundus Lullus Majori-
canus Comes Scientiam Transmutationis
didicerit et quando ac qua de causa
trajecerit in Angliam ad Regem
Robertum.

I

- 37. Liber de Intentione Alchimistarum.
- 38. Investigatio Secreti Occulti supra totum
Opus Majus, *entitled* Vade Mecum, *more*
frequently Clausula Testamenti.
- 39. Tractatus de Investigatione Lapidis, *or*
Apertorium Experimentorum.

L

- 40. Lapidarium ultimum secretissimum.
- 41. Liber Lapidarius abbreviatus.
- 42. Liber Lapidarii, *or* Practica Lapidum pre-
tiosorum et de Compositione Lapidis
mineralis.
- 43. Liber de Lapide et Oleo Philosophorum.
- 44. Liber Lucidarius Compositus super ultimo
Testamento.
- 45. Lucidarium totius Testamenti.
- 46. Liber Lucis Mercuriorum.
- 47. Lumen Claritatis et Flos Florum.
- 48. Compendium et Liber Lumen Luminum de
Intentione Alchimistarum.

M

- 49. Prima Magia Naturalis.
- 50. Secunda Magia.

- 51. Liber Magnæ Medicinæ.
- 52. Liber Mercuriorum.
- 53. Liber de Modo sublimandi Argentum vivum
Commune.

N

- 54. Liber Naturæ et Lumen nostri Lapidis.

O

- 55. Opus abbreviatum super Solem et Lunam.

P

- 56. Pars Prima practica de Furnis.
- 57. Practica abbreviata in Opere minerali
secundum Librum Noli ire sine me, *or*
Vade Mecum.
- 58. Liber de Præparatione hominis pro majori
Opere Creationis totius Naturæ animalis.

R

- 59. Liber ad Serenissimam Reginam Eleonoram
Uxorem Serenissimi Regis Anglorum
Eduardi.
- 60. Tractatus septem Rotarum.

S

61. Liber de Sacrata Scientia beati Joannis Evangelistæ.
62. Liber de Secreto occulto Salis urinæ, id est Salis Armoniaci et Salis Vegetabilis.
63. Liber de Secreto occulto Naturæ Cœlestis.
64. Liber Secreti Secretorum et Practica Testamenti et Alphabetum divinum de Lapide minerali et de Definitione Alchimie.
65. Liber de Secundo Secreto Lapidis Philosophici.
66. Liber de Secretis Naturæ seu Quintæ Essentiæ.
67. Liber Sponsalitii.

T

68. Testamentum primum Arnaldi de Villanova Catalani.
69. Testamentum ultimum Secretum Angelorum de Creatione Naturæ Vini et Sulphure duorum Luminarium et de Praxi profundissima magni Carbunculi Lapidis Vegetabilis.
70. Testamentum novissimum *sive* ultimum.
71. Theorica Testamenti, *or* Forma minor testamenti.

- 72. Testamentum Beati Thomæ de Aquino.
- 73. Thesaurus abbreviatus Sancti Thomæ de
Aquino.
- 74. Semita recta beati Thomæ
- 75. Liber Thesaurus Sanitatis et Cor meum.
- 76. Liber Cœlestis et Thesaurus Thesaurorum.

V

- 77. Liber de Vasis magno Magisterio opportunis.

LIST OF WORKS REFERRED TO, BUT
LOST.

Tractatus de Æternitate.

Liber Alchindi.

Liber de Animalibus.

Ars Memoriae.

Tract. de Conditionibus figurarum & numerorum.

Tractatus de Conscientia.

Liber Definitionum & Quæstionum.

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